

2015 • VOLUME 62 • NUMBER 2

PIONEER

Gathering
the Saints
by *Sea*

Published by the Sons of Utah Pioneers

PIONEER

FEATURES

- 2** Gathering Early Saints through Liverpool
by Fred E. Woods
- 8** The Appointment of Church Immigration Agents,
by Fred E. Woods
- 12** Bound for the Great Salt Lake
by Charles Dickens
- 15** The Mormon Immigration Index
- 16** Voyage of the ship *Brooklyn*
by Lorin K. Hansen
- 24** The Wreck and the Rescue of the *Julia Ann*
by Fred E. Woods
- 30** John McCarthy
- 32** Emigrant Ships, Passage Rates & Rations 1847–1894
- 38** Gathering to Zion during the American Civil War
by Fred E. Woods

DEPARTMENTS

- 1** President's Message
by Thomas G. Alexander
- 7** Pioneer Vignette:
"We Had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season"
by James B. Allen
- 10** Diary Entry
John Solomon Fullmer
- 37** Monuments and Markers

BACK COVER

Poetry: *The Gallant Ship Is Under Weigh*, *by W. W. Phelps*

COVER

Embarkation of the Saints at Liverpool in 1851
Painting depicting the boarding of early Latter-day Saints onto the ship Ellen Maria at Liverpool, England, in 1851 by Ken Baxter



PRESIDENT: Dr. Thomas G. Alexander

PRESIDENT-ELECT: James C. Hurst

PUBLISHER: Dr. William W. Tanner

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF &
MAGAZINE DESIGNER:
Susan Lofgren

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD:
Kent V. Lott, *Publisher Emeritus*
Linda Hunter Adams
Roger Flick
Robert C. Folkman
Dr. F. Charles Graves
Dr. A. Keith Lawrence
Francis A. Madsen Jr.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:
3301 East Louise Avenue
Salt Lake City, Utah 84109
(801) 484-4441
Email: SUP1847@gmail.com

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Pat Cook
Email: nssup3@gmail.com
or go to the website. Annual
subscription cost is \$20 per year
or \$35 for two years.

WEBSITE: www.sup1847.com

FINANCIAL: John Elggren

MISSION STATEMENT: The Mission of the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers is to come to know our fathers and turn our hearts to them; we preserve the memory and heritage of the early pioneers of the Utah Territory and the western U.S.; we honor present-day pioneers worldwide who exemplify the pioneer qualities of character; and teach these same qualities to the youth who will be tomorrow's pioneers

THE PIONEER VALUES:

We honor the pioneers for their faith in God, devotion to family, loyalty to church and country, hard work and service to others, courage in adversity, personal integrity, and unyielding determination.

© 2015 National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers™

BY THOMAS G. ALEXANDER



In the last issue of the *Pioneer* magazine I paid tribute to members of the magazine staff but

especially to Kent Lott, who is now publisher emeritus. I mentioned that Dr. William W. Tanner had accepted the publisher's position. Our readers should know something of Bill Tanner's background.

Bill was born February 18, 1936, in his family home on Third Avenue in Salt Lake City. He descends from pioneer families including the John Tanner, John Daniel Malan, David Peters, and John Woodland families.

Growing up in the family of an industrial arts teacher and a devoted mother, Bill learned to work during his early years.

Music has always been a central part of his life. After returning home from the Central Atlantic States Mission, he was called as choir director of the East Twenty-seventh Ward in Salt Lake City. There he met Elizabeth Findlay. The two of them played Cinderella and Prince Charming in a Paul Pollei-Noreen Barris production. Bill proposed to Elizabeth, and they were married in the St. George Temple.

They moved to Southern California where Bill studied dentistry at the University of Southern California. Together, they were dormitory head residents; Elizabeth

also worked as a registered nurse and Bill as a custodian, dairyman, postman, and dental laboratory technician.

The result: Bill earned his Doctor of Dental Surgery degree, and Elizabeth earned her Ph.T (Putting Hubby Through).

Throughout his life Bill has served in many positions in the Church, including elders quorum president; stake high councilor; stake president; executive secretary to a regional representative; president of and priesthood advisor to the Southern California Mormon Choir; bishop; regional representative; member of the Southern California Public Affairs Council; temple ordinance worker and sealer in the Los Angeles, Salt Lake and Nauvoo temples; high priest group leader; and missionary with Elizabeth at the Nauvoo Temple. In 2000 they were called to serve as president and "first lady" of the Texas Fort Worth Mission where they assisted in the creation of the Texas Lubbock Mission and in the open house for the Lubbock Temple.

Bill was in a private dental practice for forty-two years, thirty-eight of them in Beverly Hills, California. Following graduation from USC, he joined its faculty; he also held positions in professional dental organizations at the local, state, and national levels. He remains a fellow of the American College of Dentists, the International College of Dentists, the Pierre

Fauchard Academy, and the Academy of Operative Dentistry. In 2005 he was named an adjunct faculty member of the University of Utah Medical School, Dental General Practice Residency Department, and, after its organization in 2013, of the University of Utah School of Dentistry.

In addition to his church responsibilities, he served on the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of the Los Angeles Area Council of the Boy Scouts of America. He also served as a chaplain at four national Scout jamborees and has received the following Scouting honors: Award of Merit, Silver Beaver, and William H. Spurgeon Award for Exploring. He is also the recipient of an honorary Doctorate of Philanthropy degree from Pepperdine University.

Bill and Elizabeth have four sons, ten grandchildren, and one great-grandson. The gospel and the atonement of Jesus Christ are central to his life and activities. ▣

CORRECTION:

In our last issue of *Pioneer* magazine, 2015, no. 1, vol. 62, on page 24, we included the wrong image of one of Brigham Young's wives. The correct image of Zina Diantha Huntington Young is pictured left. The image on page 24 is Zina Young Card, the only child of Brigham Young and Zina Diantha Huntington Young.



Gathering Early Saints *through Liverpool*

**BY FRED E.
WOODS,**

*BYU Department of
Church History and
Doctrine*

The glorious news of the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ included the doctrine of the gathering—the coming together of God’s covenant people. Adherence to this doctrine would result in dramatic life changes and, for many, would require an arduous journey to a new homeland.¹

During much of the first decade of the restored Church of Jesus Christ, the call to gather did not extend beyond the boundaries of North America until the necessary priesthood keys were restored on April 3, 1836, just one week after the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. Moses appeared and



Artwork by George Hyde Chambers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London

restored to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery “the keys of the gathering of Israel from the four parts of the earth” (D&C 110:11).

In the Kirtland Temple on June 4, 1837, Joseph Smith approached one of

his trusted associates, Apostle Heber C. Kimball, and confided in him, “Brother Heber, the Spirit of the Lord has whispered to me: ‘Let my servant Heber go to England and proclaim my Gospel, and open the door of salvation to that nation.’”² A short time later, Elder Kimball, with fellow apostle Orson Hyde, prepared to lead a small group of missionaries across the Atlantic to England to

gather converts from afar. The members of this group included Willard Richards, Joseph Fielding, Isaac Russell, John Snyder, and John Goodson.³

During the space of just nine months, these early missionaries to the British Isles brought more than fifteen hundred converts into the fold and organized many branches. After this nine-month period, Apostles Kimball and Hyde returned to America April 20, 1838, while Fielding, Richards, and English convert William Clayton served as an interim British Mission presidency.

This initial success was bolstered less than two years later when eight members of the Twelve—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Willard Richards—embarked on another mission to Great Britain (January 1840 to April 1841). They were joined later in 1840 by a ninth member of the Twelve, Orson Hyde, who was with them until early 1841 when he departed on his mission to Palestine.⁴

The Twelve found great success, and by the spring of 1840, the desired foothold had been secured. Following a motion to allow foreign converts to emigrate, the British Saints began their gathering to Nauvoo with the launching of the sailing vessel *Britannia* on June 6, 1840, from Liverpool. This *Mayflower* company consisted of forty-one Saints, led by British convert John Moon.⁵

After safely arriving in Illinois, John Moon's brother Francis wrote back to his British homeland to describe the temporal and spiritual advantages of immigrating to Nauvoo: "What I might say upon this subject [I hope] might have the tendency of encouraging my fellow Englishmen in the point of gathering. . . . And [I] would say if you can get to this land, you will be better off than in England, for in this place there is a prospect of receiving every good thing both of this world and that which is to come."⁶

Just two months after the first British proselytes left Liverpool to gather to Nauvoo, the First

Presidency issued an official call to erect the temple. At this time, the call to build the Nauvoo Temple seems to have been the greatest stimulus for converts from afar to gather to Nauvoo.⁷

Letters home to England bearing glad tidings from British immigrants also paved the way for nearly five thousand other British converts to follow them to Nauvoo between June 1840 and January 1846, sailing on thirty-four voyages chartered by the Church. By the time the Saints began their forced exile from Nauvoo (February 4, 1846), over one-fourth of the city was made up of British converts.⁸

The maiden voyage of the *Britannia* would be followed by over four hundred additional voyages carrying Latter-day Saint passengers which continued to embark from Liverpool from 1840–1890. With the exception of a few LDS voyages out of Southampton in 1894, the Mormons continued to use Liverpool as their main port of embarkation throughout the nineteenth century.⁹

Mormon maritime historian Conway Sonne observed that Liverpool was highly accessible to Irish Saints via rail connections to the ports at Hull and Grimsby. In addition, the Mersey River was easier to navigate than the Thames, and it was a day closer than London. Sonne further notes, "Most important in Liverpool's growth was a 200-acre dock system, forming a belt along the waterfront that extended three and eventually seven miles."¹⁰

Latter-day Saints enjoyed an extra blessing in that during the latter half of the nineteenth century Liverpool served as headquarters for both their European and British missions and therefore created an additional reason to focus migration efforts from this important communication center. By 1851, the British census noted that Liverpool had a population of 367,000, the second largest city in all of England.¹¹

Nearly 90,000 Latter-day Saint converts migrated through the city during the nineteenth century.¹²

Besides the British proselytes, other European converts also used the port of Liverpool, especially the Scandinavians Saints heeding the call to come to Zion. Faithful Scandinavians generally departed from the harbor at Copenhagen, crossed the North Sea to the port of Hull on the eastern coast of England, and took the rail to Liverpool and its docks.¹³ Between 1852 and 1894, over 24,000 Scandinavian Mormons traveled to Utah through England. Nearly two hundred vessels carrying Latter-day Saints left Scandinavia bound for Hull.¹⁴

Rail services from Hull to Liverpool began in 1840 when the rail line between Liverpool and Selby was extended all the way to Hull.¹⁵ The North Eastern Railway (NER), which took control of this route in 1851, chartered emigrant trains from Hull to Liverpool when trade necessitated. The journey lasted up to seven hours. The rail route out of Hull varied according to arrangements made in advance between the railway and steamship companies and the agents for the Latter-day Saints. One Saint recorded: "We left Hull for Liverpool on a special train at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and came through the towns of Howden, Selby, Normington [Normanton], Brandford [Bradford], Leeds Hudbersfild [Huddersfield], Manchester and Bolton to Liverpool."¹⁶

Regardless of the route they took, all migrants traveled the 140-mile journey from Hull to Liverpool by steam train. The scenery they passed through varied as greatly as the diverse backgrounds of the passengers on board.

After arrival at Liverpool the Mormon passengers also received counsel to obey all rules and follow their designated Church leaders. For example, John Williams wrote: "Before leaving Liverpool, Elders Calkin and Williams, from the *Millennial Star* office, came on board, and exhorted the Saints to observe cleanliness and order during the voyage, promising that, if they would obey the counsel and carry out the instructions given them by those who presided, they should

have a prosperous voyage, and not one soul should be lost."¹⁷

For many, the decision to emigrate did not come easily but demanded rare courage and sacrifice. Many experienced the anguish of leaving their family, friends, and homeland. Reflecting upon her commitment to make the journey to Zion, Priscilla Staines wrote: "I left the home of my birth to gather to Nauvoo. I was alone. It was a dreary winter day on which I went to Liverpool. The company with which I was to sail were all strangers to me. When I arrived at Liverpool and saw the ocean that would soon roll between me and all I loved, my heart almost failed me. But I had laid my idols all upon the altar. There was no turning back."¹⁸

Yet for Staines and many other converts, such as William Clayton, the sacrifice eventually brought joy: "It is impossible for pen to describe to you the difficulties you will have to endure. You must come or suffer the vengeance of heaven and for my part I will say that if I was in England now and had experienced all the journey it would not in the least deter me from coming for I have often found that in the greatest seasons of suffering we have the greatest cause of rejoicing."¹⁹

Such inspiring words touched the hearts of thousands of converts, who soon reached the shores of North America. With the exception of a few early ships that landed in New York or Quebec, the remaining ships launched from Liverpool between 1840 and 1846 disembarked at New Orleans. Apparently the decision to use this southern United States port (commencing in December 1840), rather than New York or Quebec, came as a result of a letter Joseph sent to the Twelve in England in October 1840. In it he mentioned, "I think that those who

The North Eastern Railway



Liverpool landing stage



came here this fall, did not take the best possible route, or the least expensive.”²⁰ Six months later the *Millennial Star* reported an “Epistle of the Twelve,” wherein counsel was given regarding when and how converts should immigrate to Nauvoo: “It is much cheaper going by New Orleans than by New York. But it will never do for emigrants to go by New Orleans in the Summer on account of the heat and sickness of the climate. It is, therefore, advisable for the Saints to emigrate in Autumn, Winter, or Spring.”²¹

Not only did this route up the Mississippi prove cheaper, but it also allowed the Prophet Joseph to be aware when groups of converts were coming upriver from St. Louis. Here on the banks of the Mississippi, Joseph met the foreign Saints who had gathered to receive instruction from their prophet, to help build the temple, and receive their endowment. A number of accounts demonstrate how the Prophet Joseph led the way in welcoming the eager converts who had come from afar.

For example, in a letter to the *Millennial Star*, Heber C. Kimball described the welcome the Twelve and over a hundred immigrating Saints received the summer of 1841: “We landed in Nauvoo on the 1st of July, and when we struck the dock

I think there were about three hundred Saints there to meet us, and a greater manifestation of love and gladness I never saw before. President Smith was the first one that caught us by the hand.”²²

To new converts of a religion that claimed to be a restoration of God’s ancient covenant church, complete with apostles and prophets, the thrill of being greeted by the Prophet Joseph Smith must have been overwhelming. Robert Crookston testified, “As we approached the landing place to our great joy we saw the Prophet Joseph Smith there to welcome his people who had come so far. We were all so glad to see him and set our feet upon the promised land so to speak. It was the most thrilling experience of my life for I know that he was a Prophet of the Lord.”²³

Joseph Smith succored these weary Saints and greeted them with the warmest possible affections. Their faith now strengthened and the desire of their hearts realized, they were ready to meet the challenges that would confront them as they began to build Zion in a new land. The same prophet who first issued the call to gather was he who stood to welcome the Lord’s chosen people who had crossed the awesome Atlantic in answer to the call to gather with the Saints. With this divine

New Orleans

power, the Saints not only had strength to establish another Zion in the West, but were equipped to obtain a far greater land of promise. ▣

1 This article is a condensed version of "Gathering to Zion," chapter 3, in *Unto Every Nation*, ed. Richard O. Cowan and Donald Q. Cannon (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 43–58.

2 Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001), 103–4.

3 Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church*, 2:492; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*. See also V. Ben Bloxham, et al., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987* (Solihull, England: Deseret Book, 1987), 38–39.

4 Regarding the initial nine-month mission and its aftermath, see James B. Allen, et al., *Men with a Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 52–53.

5 See letter concerning John Moon and the *Britannia* sailing on page 7.

6 "Important from America: Interesting Letter from Elder Moon who lately emigrated from England to America," *Millennial Star* (Feb. 1841): 1:252.

7 *History of the Church*, 4:186; 4:230.

8 Of the thirty-four chartered LDS voyages noted, thirty-one were launched from Liverpool. The other three left from Bristol and disembarked at Quebec. See Fred E. Woods, *Gathering to Nauvoo* (American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2002), 153–54.

9 Mormon Immigration Index.

10 Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," unpublished paper delivered July 10, 1987, at the Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, 4–5.

11 Terry Coleman, *Going to America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 63, 258.

12 Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1983), 117, 173.



Steamboats in New Orleans by Hippolyte Sebron

13 Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *Contributor* 13, no. 4 (Feb. 1892): 181; William Mulder, "Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850–1900: A Shepherded Migration," *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 237.

14 See Gordon Jackson, "The Ports," in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (New York: St. Martin's, 1988), 218–52. During this period, Copenhagen was the headquarters for the Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Mission.

15 Edward Gillett and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull*, 2nd ed. (Hull: Hull Univ. Press, 1989), 303.

16 Diary of Hans Hoth, typescript, Dec. 27, 1853, trans. from German script by Peter Gulbrandsen, 3–4, Bancroft Library, Univ. of California—Berkeley.

17 John Williams to the Latter-day Saints' *Millennial Star* 19, no. 17 (Feb. 14, 1857): 106.

18 Priscilla Staines, in Edward Tullidge, *The Women of Mormondom* (1877; reprint, Salt Lake City: N.p., 1975), 288. Jane C. Robinson Hindley, "Journals 1855–1905," 1:11–14, (LDS Church History Library; hereafter CHL), who experienced this same challenge in 1855 also seems to have experienced the magnetic pull of the gathering and therefore left England with, as she noted, "the fire of Israel's God burning in my bosom."

19 William Clayton to Edward Martin, Nov. 28 1840, typescript, CHL, 1.

20 *History of the Church*, 4:230.

21 "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* (April 1, 1841): 311.

22 Whitney, *Heber C. Kimball*, 313.

23 Robert Crookston, *Autobiography of Robert Crookston*, typescript, 6, CHL.

"We Had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season"

John Moon's Account of the First Emigrant Company of British Saints

by James B. Allen, *BYU professor of history emeritus*

By 1840 the spirit of gathering to America was beginning to excite the British Saints. Even though the official call to gather did not come from Church headquarters until that August, many British Saints had anticipated it and were ready to go. Mission leaders were concerned, however, thinking that perhaps the emigration was premature, but on April 15 they finally decided to allow it.

A number of Saints decided to go on their own, without waiting for organized companies. Others organized themselves into companies, even before the Church emigration agency was established. The first of these self-organized companies, some forty-one Saints, left Liverpool on 6 June 1840, under the leadership of John Moon. The letter which follows is John Moon's account of that voyage written to William Clayton, and is, so far as we know, the earliest document available telling the story of a transAtlantic voyage of Mormon emigrants.

The letter is included in a letter William Clayton wrote on 19 August 1840 to Brigham Young and Willard Richards, who were fulfilling an important mission in England. Clayton had recently been released from the British Mission presidency and was preparing for his own emigration. Moon was a cousin of Clayton's wife and wrote to Clayton from New York. Clayton . . . used the bulk of his letter to reproduce John Moon's report.

Bro Jno Moon writes -

"N York July 22 - * I feel glad to find my feet upon the Land of Joseph after so loud and tedious a journey; we have had a very long voyage but quite as short as any ship on the sea at the same time. Many ships which sailed before us was not come in when we was set at liberty, the captain said we had a very hard voyage for the season.

"Started from Liverpool on the 6th of June good wind 6 hours and then a calm 4 sick in the company on the 7th on Sabbath we had a rough wind. On the 8th was had a very high wind and water came over the bulwarks all that day and all was sick. I never saw such a day in all my days. Some crying, some vomiting; pots, pans, tins and boxes walking in all directions; the ship heaving the sea roaring and we passed that day.

"On the 9th a calm. 10 good wind all day—company rather better; they all came upon Deck. Sister Hannah, Dorothy, Lydia and Alice was very sick. . . . Old Henry was not sea sick at all—was poorly. . . .



"On the 11th not much wind.

July 6 the scene has been very different, since the 11th of June then all our family was recovering but alas since that time we have had the bowel complaint among us and all the company has had it. . . . Sister Hannah has had it all the way. It is the most dreadful complaint that has come to us. We was all sick at once and what made things worse I had the ill luck to scald my foot in boiling broth.

"With regard to ship and convenience it has been bad and I would say to all who may come here keep from *Brittania* if you want peace. Come on a packet ship if you give rather more [He then speaks of provisions recommends to make our own bread and not buy biscuits.] . . .

"I got up very early on friday morning July 17th saw land at 4 o'clock. Tacked off untill 2 in the afternoon when we saw land again. At 5 saw Long Island all covered with green trees and white houses such a beautiful sight I never saw. I did rejoice to behold the land of Joseph: yea, I thought it did pay for all the hardships which I had gone through.

"Quarantine 3 days. If you could come sometime from September to May you would not need. I got permission from the Captain to go to New York on the Sabbath arrived about 1 o'clock P.M. It was with much trouble I found the saints. . . . I told them who I was. . . . Their hearts was filled with joy and

their eyes with tears. They received us with all the care possible.

"All the company got in on Monday the 20th of July. We have had much affliction tis true more than I can describe but after all I do not know that I ever heard one word of murmuring in all our afflictions. We have all got over safe and in a state of tolerable health. I feel glad that we have got so far on our journey. I feel somewhat sorry for all those who have to come after us but keep up your day is so shall your strength be. You must expect great tribulation in the way to Zion for those who John saw had come through much tribulation and I do not know any way but one that leads to the kingdom of God. But I can say with truth that if things had been 10 times worse than was I would just have gone right ahead through all. We had 3 storms but the Prophecy of Er Kimball was fulfilled the winds and water was calmed by prayer and the power of God.

"In New York we can buy a large Loaf for 6 pence sugar 3-1/2 pence Butter 6 pence other things in like manner. Potatoes much like England in price and very good. Tea, Coffee & Spirits very cheap. . . . There were ships that sailed 10 days before us and had not come in when we go to shore. One ship had been 90 days on the water. Many of her passengers was almost worn out and many dead. Sister Eaves was delivered of a Male child on June 22nd. It died on the 27th and was buried on the 28th."

Love to all &c &c. Jno moon. ☑

James B. Allen, ed., "The Historians Corner," *BYU Studies*, Spring 1977, 339-41.

The Appointment of **Church Immigration Agents**

BY FRED E. WOODS



Artwork by Glen Hopkinson


British converts were influenced by the excellent organization and dependability of their Church leaders, both at Liverpool and in Nauvoo. An emigration agent was selected by Church leaders to carry out arrangements at Liverpool. In April 1841, an “Epistle of the Twelve” was published in the *Millennial Star* explaining that an agent had been appointed and listing the advantages of the Church-sanctioned appointment:

“We have found that there are so many ‘pick pockets,’ and so many that will take every possible advantage of strangers, in Liverpool, that we have appointed Elder Amos Fielding, as the agent of the church, to superintend the fitting out of Saints

from Liverpool to America. Whatever information the Saints may want about the preparations for a voyage, they are advised to call on Elder Fielding, at Liverpool, as their first movement, when they arrive there as emigrants. There are some brethren who have felt themselves competent to do their own business in these matters, and rather despising the counsel of their friends, have been robbed and cheated out of nearly all they had. A word of caution to the wise is sufficient.”

Furthermore, the letter continued: “It is also a great saving to go in companies, instead of going individually. First, a company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise. Secondly, provisions can be purchased at wholesale for a company much cheaper than otherwise. Thirdly, this will avoid bad company on the passage. Fourthly, when a company arrives in New Orleans they can charter a steam-boat so as to reduce the passage near one half. The measure will save some hundreds of pounds on each ship load. Fifthly, a man of experience can go as leader of each company, who will know how to avoid rogues and knaves.”¹

Later, the Church also assigned agents at the ports of New Orleans and New York to meet the incoming Saints.

Despite the best efforts of leaders and the Saints themselves, the immigration process was rarely a flawless one, and challenges arose during and following Church members’ journeys to Nauvoo. Those who gathered were warned by the First Presidency concerning false expectations: “We would wish the Saints to understand that, when they come here, they must not expect perfection, or that all will be harmony, peace, and love; if they indulge these ideas, they will undoubtedly be deceived, for here there are persons, not only from different states, but from different nations, who, although they feel a great attachment to the cause of truth, have their prejudices.”² 

Excerpt from Fred E. Woods, “Gathering to Zion,” 48–63.

1 “Epistle of the Twelve,” *Millennial Star* 1, no. 12 (April 1841): 311.

2 Quoted from Fred E. Woods, “Gathering to Zion,” 52–53, fn 20: see also Woods, “Men in Motion.”



John Solomon Fullmer

In the fall of 1852, [John S. Fullmer] was called to fulfill a mission to England. He left his two wives [in Davis County, Utah], who between them had twelve children—all under fourteen years of age. . . . While laboring at Rochdale, England, on March 29, 1853, he and his companion administered to an eighteen-year-old boy by the name of Halsden Marsden, who had been born deaf and dumb. As they finished administering to him, the boy spoke and indicated that he could also hear. On February 27, 1855, upon completion of his mission, Fullmer sailed for home on the ship Siddons, during which time he served as president of a company of 430 Saints who were emigrating to the Salt Lake Valley. After seeing this company of Saints to Philadelphia, PA, he returned to New York to meet two more shiploads of Saints (the Juventa and Chimborozo) and to convey them to their outfitting place and boarding boats for St. Louis.” (See http://winmillfamily.com/RichardWinmill/john_s_fullmer.htm)



Liverpool to Philadelphia February 27 to April 20, 1855:

Sunday, February 25/55. . . .

President [Franklin D.] Richards had appointed me to preside and Elders Alred [Isaac Allred] and [James] Pace to be my counselors and today he brought our names before the Saints for their approval. We were cheerfully and heartily sustained after which the elders laid their hands on my head and set me apart to fill my present appointment. . . .

Tuesday, February 27/55. . . .

This morning the captain with two government officers—a physician and clearing officers—came aboard. The passengers passed their inspection. . . . I had all the able-bodied men on board numbered and then made seven divisions of them answering to the seven days in the week, and then laid all the duties of the day, such as getting up early in the morning, and cleansing the ship, being the officers or rather workmen of the day and guard at night. . . . I next divided the ship into four wards for religious purposes and I appointed a president

over each ward. . . . I instructed the presidents to hold some sort of meeting in their respective wards each night. . . . These meetings, I find, have quite a reviving tendency, especially when the Saints are well enough to attend them.

Saturday, Mar 10/55. . . . We did not get out into the open sea . . . until full seven days. . . . We were much amused the other day, it being a fair afternoon. The captain had a place cleared on deck and had some of the invalids brought out to sun themselves, which others that were more able he had to jump the rope. In fact, he loves to sport with children, and he actually took one end of a rope and helped to swing it for an hour while the children and even the lasses jumped it like good ones. He has repeated this exercise several times since to the no small annoyance of the mates but he has ingratiated himself very favorably with all on board. . . .

Last Sunday the Saints throughout the ship partook of the sacrament of the Lord’s supper. . . . We had two deaths aboard, the first

was buried on the first day of sailing and was yet a babe, the second was born only some six hours before its death. I hope these will be the only casualties of the sort that may occur on our voyage. Three marriages came off according to arrangement before starting. . . .

Sunday, Mar 18/55. . . . We toss about like a log upon the water. Sometimes one side up and sometimes another, in a kind of alternate sottery motion reminding me of the cradle upon the treetop, when the wind blows the cradle will rock. This keeps up a kind of friction among the passengers and boxes from one side of the ship to the other, which is rather new to landlovers and somewhat endangers heads, legs, and arms as the case may be. . . .

Friday, March 23/55. . . . I found the health of the Saints so far improved this week that I took advantage of a fair day and distributed the goods for making tents and wagon covers. The tents are now in process of being made, but the English and Scotch made

an awkward job of it. They [are] sometimes made to "do their first works over again." . . .

Saturday, Mar. 31st. . . . I try to amuse myself in reading the history of Napoleon Bonaparte. . . .

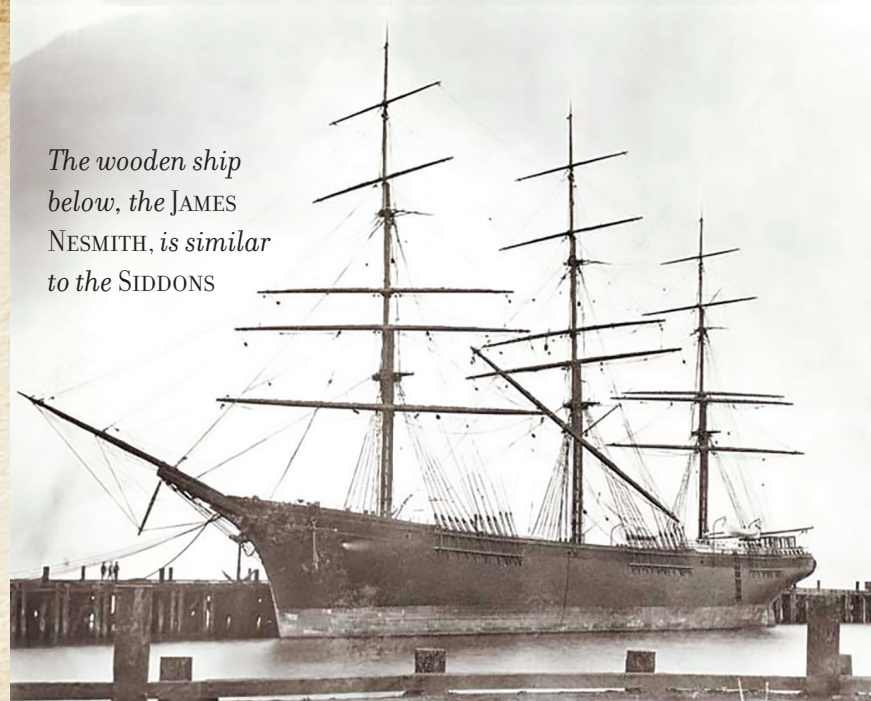
Wednesday, April 4th. . . . This evening, just before sunset, a large iceberg is seen to the south of us about ten miles distant. It appears as high as the mast of a large ship would and must therefore be one hundred or one hundred fifty feet above water. The captain says they have eight feet of depth below the water to run above it. This must then be a tremendous mass to run against. It is white as the driven snow as the sun is shining full upon it. I wish to see no more of them, or if I do, I want to see them at a distance. . . .

Friday, April 6, /55. . . . The young folks are just beginning to enjoy a dance which was got up on a part of the deck as the sun was fast declining. . . .

Tuesday, April 10, /55. . . . Today I took receipts of all the Fund passengers for the amount of their passage from Liverpool to Philadelphia. I also gathered a report of the number of births on board, and found that there was three children born, two boys and one girl, the first of which was a male, died in six hours afterwards. . . .

Saturday, April 14th. . . .
Today I am sorry to say another child . . . was consigned to the deep. An old sister, seventy two years of age, is lying very low. . . . Another birth . . . a fine daughter today.

Tuesday, April 17th. . . .
On Sunday last I addressed the Saints in two different wards and



The wooden ship below, the JAMES NESMITH, is similar to the SIDDONS

rallied their spirits for they began to be impatient for their deliverance. To have a little variety we had the Preston Choir to sing and play for us. We had two recitations . . . , one of which was that splendid production of Eliza R. Snow on the death of the prophet and patriarch. It seemed to me as well delivered as it was written. I never heard it done so well. . . .

Tuesday, April 17/55. . . . We now had just feasted our longing eyes with the welcome sight of land. This was the south east coast of New Jersey, near the Delaware Bay. . . . We are in hopes of reaching Philadelphia by tomorrow night. . . .

Wednesday, 18th. . . . This morning it was quite foggy and the sun could not be seen for several hours after it had risen. Consequently our signal could not be seen until about eleven o'clock when we saw in the distance a signal of recognition from a pilot boat which was standing out to sea for us. . . . The pilot came aboard about noon and all hearts rejoiced. The captain was as much pleased as any of the passengers for he had become quite impatient and had begun to damn the wind, the weather, the fog, the ship, and

the luck. We found ourselves some distance out to sea and it required some hours to reach the Bay where we had been last night. It was after dark before we turned into the Delaware. This makes fifty one days from the River Mersey to the River Delaware, an unusually long voyage. . . .

Thursday, 19/55. . . . Set sail again this morning. . . . Finally we cast anchor again and waited for a steam tug. During the afternoon one came alongside. The captain pays her \$75 to take the ship to port. The night became dark with fog and the anchor was again cast, and the tug fastened alongside for the night.

Friday, 20th. . . . The morning was beautiful and mild. The ship was soon put under motion and it was almost aggravating to see that noble ship which had so majestically defied and overcome the wild sea for fifty two hard contested days, now taken by the nose by a mean little insignificant looking thing and led whithersoever the thing had a mind. . . . The farther up the better until at length we put into port which was on the tongue of every prayer that was offered up during the voyage. How delighted all were. ▣

Bound for the Great Salt Lake

Charles Dickens, "The Uncommercial Traveler," from *The Works of Charles Dickens*,
Riverside Edition (Cambridge: Riverside, 1873), 298–314.



THE EMBARKATION, WATERLOO DOCKS LIVERPOOL.

Behold me on my way to an Emigrant Ship, on a hot morning early in June. . . .

My Emigrant Ship lies broadside on to the wharf. Two great gangways made of spars and planks connect her with the wharf; and up and down these gangways, perpetually crowding to and fro and in and out, like ants, are the Emigrants who are going to sail in my Emigrant Ship. Some with cabbages, some with loaves of bread, some with cheese and butter, some with milk and beer, some with boxes, beds, and bundles, some with babies nearly all with children—nearly all with brand-new tin cans for their daily allowance of water, uncomfortably suggestive of a tin flavour in the drink. To and fro, up and down, aboard and ashore, swarming here and there and everywhere, my Emigrants. And still as the Dock-Gate swings upon its hinges, cabs appear, and carts appear, and vans appear, bringing more of my Emigrants. . . .

I go aboard my Emigrant Ship. I go first to the great cabin, and find it in the usual condition of a Cabin at that pass. . . . But nobody is in an ill-temper, nobody is the worse for drink, nobody swears an oath or uses a coarse word, nobody appears depressed, nobody is weeping, and down upon the deck in every corner where it is possible to find a few square feet to kneel, crouch, or lie in, people, in every unsuitable attitude for writing, are writing letters.

Now, I have seen emigrant ships before this day in June. And these people are so strikingly different from all other people in like circumstances whom I have ever seen, that I wonder aloud, "What *would* a stranger suppose these emigrants to be!"

The vigilant, bright face of the weather-browed captain of the *Amazon* is at my shoulder, and he says, "What, indeed! The most of these came aboard yesterday evening. They came from various parts of England in small parties that had never seen one another before. Yet they had not

been a couple of hours on board, when they established their own police, made their own regulations, and set their own watches at all the hatchways. Before nine o'clock, the ship was as orderly and as quiet as a man-of-war. . . .

"A stranger would be puzzled to guess the right name for these people, Mr. Uncommercial," says the captain. . . . "If you hadn't known, could you ever have supposed—?"

"How could I! I should have said they were in their degree, the pick and flower of England."

"So should I," says the captain.

"How many are they?"

"Eight hundred in round numbers." . . .

Surely, an extraordinary people in their power of self-abstraction! . . . A boy with a bag of books in his hand and a slate under his arm, emerged from below, concentrated himself in my neighbourhood (espying a convenient skylight for his purpose), and went to work at a sum as if he were stone deaf. A father and mother and several young children, on the main deck below me, had formed a family circle close to the foot of the crowded restless gangway, where the children made a nest for themselves in a coil of rope, and the father and mother, she suckling the youngest, discussed family affairs as peaceably as if they were in perfect retirement. . . .

Eight hundred what? . . . EIGHT HUNDRED MORMONS. I, Uncommercial Traveller for the firm of Human Interest Brothers, had come aboard this Emigrant Ship to see what Eight hundred Latter-day Saints were like, and I found them (to the rout and overthrow of all my expectations) like what I now describe with scrupulous exactness.

The Mormon Agent [Elder George Q. Cannon, then presiding over the European Mission] who had been active in getting them together, and in making the contract with my friends the owners of the ship to take them as far as New York on their way to the Great Salt Lake, was pointed out to me. A compactly made handsome man in black, rather short, with rich brown hair and beard, and clear bright eyes. From his speech, I should set him down as American. Probably, a man who had "knocked about the world" pretty much. A man

with a frank open manner, and unshrinking look; withal a man of great quickness. I believe he was wholly ignorant of my Uncommercial individuality, and consequently of my immense Uncommercial importance.

Uncommercial. These are a very fine set of people you have brought together here.

Mormon Agent. Yes, sir, they are a very fine set of people.

Uncommercial (looking about). Indeed, I think it would be difficult to find Eight hundred people together anywhere else, and find so much beauty and so much strength and capacity for work among them.

Mormon Agent (not looking about, but looking steadily at Uncommercial). I think so.—We sent out about a thousand more, yes'day, from Liverpool. . . .

Uncommercial. It is surprising to me that these people are all so cheery, and make so little of the immense distance before them.

Mormon Agent. Well, you see; many of 'em have friends out at Utah, and many of 'em look forward to meeting friends on the way.

Uncommercial. On the way?

Mormon Agent. This way 'tis. This ship lands 'em in New York City. Then they go on by rail right away beyond St. Louis, to that part of the Banks of the Missouri where they strike the Plains. There, waggons from the settlement meet 'em to bear 'em company on their journey 'cross-twelve hundred miles about. Industrious people who come out to the settlement soon get waggons of their own, and so the friends of some of these will come down in their own waggons to meet 'em. They look forward to that, greatly. . . .

The emigrants were now all on deck. . . . By what successful means, a special aptitude for organisation had been infused into these people, I am, of course, unable to report. But I know that, even now, there was no disorder, hurry, or difficulty. . . .

There were many worn faces bearing traces of patient poverty and hard work, and there was great steadiness of purpose and much undemonstrative self-respect among this class. A few young men were going singly. Several girls were going,

two or three together. . . . Some single women of from thirty to forty, whom one might suppose to be embroiderers, or straw-bonnet-makers, were obviously going out in quest of husbands, as finer ladies go to India. . . .

I should say (I had no means of ascertaining the fact) that most familiar kinds of handicraft trades were represented here. Farm-labourers, shepherds, and the like, had their full share of representation, but I doubt if they preponderated. It was interesting to see how the leading spirit in the family circle never failed to show itself, even in the simple process of answering to the names as they were called, and checking off the owners of the names. Sometimes it was the father, much oftener the mother, sometimes a quick little girl second or third in order of seniority. It seemed to occur for the first time to some heavy fathers, what large families they had; and their eyes rolled about, during the calling of the list, as if they half misdoubted some other family to have been smuggled into their own. . . .

When all had “passed,” and the afternoon began to wear on, a black box became visible on deck. . . . This box contained a supply of hymn-books, neatly printed and got up, published at Liverpool, and also in London at the “Latter-Day Saints’ Book Dépôt, 30, Florence-street.” . . . The title ran: “Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.” . . . From this book . . . a hymn was sung, which did not attract any great amount of attention, and was supported by a rather select circle. But the choir in the boat was very popular and pleasant; and there was to have been a Band, only the Cornet was late in coming on board. In the course of the afternoon, a mother appeared from shore, in search of her daughter, “who had run away with the Mormons.” She received every assistance from the Inspector, but her daughter was not found to be on board. The saints did not seem to me, particularly interested in finding her. . . .

As the *Amazon* was to sail with the next tide, and as it would not be high water before two o’clock in the morning, I left her. . . .

I afterwards learned that a Despatch was sent home by the captain before he struck out into the wide Atlantic, highly extolling the behaviour of these Emigrants, and the perfect order and propriety of all their social arrangements. What is in store for the poor people on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, what happy delusions they are labouring under now, on what miserable blindness their eyes may be opened then, I do not pretend to say. But I went on board their ship to bear testimony against them if they deserved it, as I fully believed they would; to my great astonishment they did not deserve it; and my predispositions and tendencies must not affect me as an honest witness. I went over the *Amazon’s* side, feeling it impossible to deny that, so far, some remarkable influence had produced a remarkable result, which better-known influences have often missed. ▼

After this Uncommercial Journey was printed, I happened to mention the experience it describes to Lord Houghton. That gentleman then showed me an article of his writing, in *The Edinburgh Review* for January, 1862, which is highly remarkable for its philosophical and literary research concerning these Latter-Day Saints. I find in it the following sentences:—“The Select Committee of the House of Commons on emigrant ships for 1854 summoned the Mormon agent and passenger-broker before it, and came to the conclusion that no ships under the provisions of the ‘Passengers Act’ could be depended upon for comfort and security in the same degree as those under his administration. The Mormon ship is a Family under strong and accepted discipline, with every provision for comfort, decorum and internal peace.”



Find your ancestors

About 90,000 Latter-day Saints are heading a call to come to Utah for the next of their journeys. The auto letters link to hundreds of history of Mormon immigr

Readers of Pioneer interested in 19th- and early 20th-century immigration to the United States may be familiar with two important projects initiated in the mid- and late- 1990s by Fred E. Woods.

The Mormon Immigration Index

was first released by the Church in July 2000 as a CD database, co-directed by Blaine Bake and brought to fruition through tireless efforts of dozens of faculty, student, and private volunteers. This database is available at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City and at LDS family history centers around the world; since 2007 the index has also been available online—in a versatile and easily searchable format—at <http://mormonmigration.lib.byu.edu>. A search wiki for “Mormon Immigration Index” at FamilySearch.org provides this concise and useful description:¹

“The Mormon Immigration Index is a database of approximately 93,000 immigrants who traveled from various international ports to

the United States between the years 1840 and 1890. Information in this database includes the age and country of origin of each immigrant, ports of departure and arrival, the company leader assigned to each voyage, and general voyage information. This index also contains transcriptions of autobiographies, journals, diaries, and letters of approximately 1,000 passengers. These immigrant accounts are linked to over 500 known LDS companies and provide a composite account of those who crossed the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to gather in Zion. Other people who took part in these voyages, but who were not members of the LDS Church, are also listed in this index.”

The Immigrant Ancestors Project

also resulting from ongoing efforts of countless volunteers, is an impressive work in progress. Originally conceived by Woods as a continuation of the Mormon Immigration Index, IAP is sponsored by the Center for Family History and Genealogy at

Brigham Young University and is available online at <http://immigrants.byu.edu>.

Drawing on more than 100 databases in Dutch, English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish—including the “Mormon Immigrants 1” (1840–1890: 92,312 names) and “Mormon Immigrants 2” (1890–1932: 23,030 names) databases—volunteers working under the direction of researchers and scholars “are creating a database of millions of immigrants based on emigration registers.” The resource has the amazingly lofty ambition of locating and posting “information about the birthplaces” of all European American immigrants, together with information about other important occurrences “in their native countries,” information “not found in the port registers and naturalization documents in the destination countries.” According to the FamilySearch.org search wiki for “BYU Immigrant Ancestors Project,”² the resource “identifies and acquires microfilmed, digital, or photocopies of emigration records for emigrants that left their native countries in Europe for the Americas. Volunteers extract the original records and make the extracted information available online free of charge.”

For each of its records, the site also provides contact information for the archive where the original record is located, together with a form letter that users may copy and send to the archive requesting reproductions of the original record. ▢

1 See https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/Mormon_Immigration_Index.

2 See https://familysearch.org/learn/wiki/en/BYU_Immigrant_Ancestors_Project.



MORMON MIGRATION

More Search Options ▾



tor's voyage

Saint converts crossed the oceans during the 19th century, Zion. The Mormon Migration website offers inspiring accounts autobiographies, journals, diaries, reminiscences, images, and of known LDS immigrant voyages and provide a composite migration to America. [more →](#)



15



Ship Brooklyn by Arnold Friberg

VOYAGE OF THE SHIP

Brooklyn

BY LORIN K. HANSEN, *retired physicist*

Pressure was mounting to drive the Mormons (some 15,000) from Illinois. On 16 September [1845], hoping to appease the mobs, Brigham Young had publicly announced the Church's decision to abandon Nauvoo. . . . As a destination, [he] was considering Upper California, at that time Mexican territory (which included present-day California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona).

Under instructions from Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt announced that Samuel Brannan would organize and lead another group—the first company to go by sea, which would sail from New York and go around Cape Horn to California. . . . Thus began preparations for emigration aboard the ship *Brooklyn*.

Both the overland trek from Nauvoo and the voyage from New York had one purpose: to build a new Mormon Zion in the West, where the Saints would be free from the conflicts of the past. As if to punctuate the unity of the two journeys, they began on the same day, 4 February 1846. . . . The *Brooklyn* Saints understood that eventually the two groups would meet at or near the coast of Upper California. . . .

The *Brooklyn* voyagers were the first group of immigrants to enter California by sea after California was claimed by the United States as the spoils of the Mexican–American War. Among the first in California commerce and industry, these immigrants helped build the frontier village of

Yerba Buena into a promising San Francisco. They helped discover and, for a time, develop the gold mines. But they also established homes . . . and pioneered California agriculture.

Because the main body of Saints stopped their overland migration at the Salt Lake Valley, the *Brooklyn* Saints were isolated from the Church for a time. Even so, they made important contributions to the Church. Their settlements at the Bay of San Francisco were a way station for many years, and the Mormons there generously assisted the missionaries and Saints traveling between the Pacific and Salt Lake City. . . .

Finally, to be at the center of the Church, most of them were willing a second time to leave all behind and journey to “Zion,” some called in the midst of the 1857 Utah War. They went, not across the plains, but across the formidable Sierras and the Humboldt Sink, or across the desolate southern route out of San Bernardino. . . .

In mid-winter of January 1846, East Coast Saints planning to go by sea on the first emigration to California . . . came from all directions: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. . . . By profession they were schoolteachers, farmers, carpenters, millers, coopers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shoemakers, masons, printers, tailors, dressmakers, weavers, and even midwives and a physician.¹ . . .

A fully rigged ship of modest size [and] originally used as a merchantman, the *Brooklyn* needed

remodeling to carry such a large company of passengers. . . . Working quickly, laborers installed thirty-two small staterooms (with bunks) in two rows on the outsides of 'tween-decks and vents and skylights to give passengers required ventilation and light. Between the staterooms they built a long table with benches for meetings, activities, and meals. Space was tight; taller passengers had to stoop when walking between decks. Workers also improved a galley on deck, equipping it with enough cooking surface for 400 people.

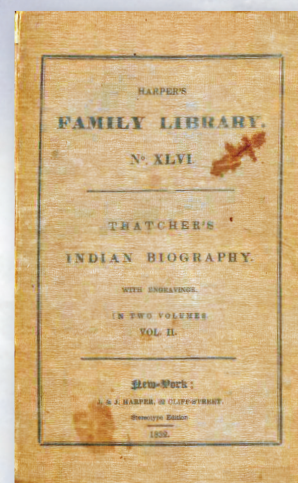
Captain Abel W. Richardson was an experienced ship's master and was part owner of the ship. . . . John Horner described the crew as men of above-average morals and stated that "unbecoming language was seldom heard on board."² They were all temperance men. Captain Richardson took as his first mate his nephew Joseph W. Richardson. A second mate, steward, cook, and twelve seamen made up the rest of the crew. The passengers also hired two blacks as their cook and steward. . . .

Workers packed agricultural and mechanical tools to equip at least 800 men into the hold of the ship. There were ploughs, hoes, forks, shovels, spades, plough irons, scythes, sickles, nails, glass, Blacksmith's tools, Carpenter's tools, Millwright's tools, three grain mills for grinding grain, turning lathes, sawmill irons, grinding stones, one printing press and type, paper, stationary, schoolbooks, consisting of spelling books, sequels, history, arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, *Morse's Atlas and Geography*, *Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon*, slates. Also dry goods and twine, as well as brass-, copper-, iron-, tin-, and crockery-ware.

They even stowed away a cache of muskets and fifty Allen revolvers (pepperboxes), the latest in handguns. To all this they added large hogsheds of fresh water, . . . provisions for a six- to seven-month voyage, crates of chickens, and forty to fifty pigs. Even two milch cows were stanchioned on board.³ . . .

At a social on February 4, 1846, the night before the *Brooklyn* Saints' departure, Joshua M. Van Cott, a *Brooklyn* attorney, presented the voyagers with 179 volumes of the Harper's Family Library (HFL). The HFL series was a rich trove of interesting reading. . . . The collection covered a broad

literary spectrum and was targeted to meet the interests of the general public. The series included inspiring stories of explorers, adventurers, and political and military leaders. There were intellectually challenging volumes written by or about scientists, physicians, philosophers, poets, creative artists, and political and social thinkers.⁴ . . . There was a high level of adult literacy (by 1830, about 80–90 percent of white males in the United States).⁵



On Wednesday, 4 February 1846, after the passing of a snowstorm, the emigrating Saints [seventy men and about sixty women and 100 children] and about a dozen non-Mormon passengers . . . boarded the ship . . . with friends, relatives, and curious onlookers pack[ing] the wharves. . . . The Saints on the pier joined in some hymns and a song about going to California. . . . [Then] the ship moved out [from the New York piers and] into a frigid, choppy Atlantic, finally disappearing from view.

Through this same harbor immigrants arrived almost daily from the Old World seeking religious and political freedom and economic opportunity. Surprisingly, here were some 230 Latter-day Saints—men, women, and children—leaving this very port for the same reasons, embarking on a journey five times the length of the *Mayflower* voyage, abandoning home, family, friends, and country to begin anew in an unknown part of the world. . . .

Four days out into the Gulf Stream the *Brooklyn* encountered a frightening gale. . . . Soon "mountain high" waves were breaking over the deck and pounding like thunder against the creaky hull. The ship pitched to the billows and plunged into cavernous troughs. Passengers were shut in the hold, "tossed about like feathers in a sack."⁶ At one point the situation grew so precarious that Captain Richardson feared for his ship, which was loaded

far beyond the legal limit of two passengers for every five tons of ship, for the *Brooklyn* a limit of 178 passengers. . . . [The *Brooklyn* was carrying 234 passengers]: 70 men, 63 women, and 101 children.

Every cabin would be smashed and swept from the deck. He came down to the passengers with a fearful expression, only to find the voyagers in their dimly lit chamber loudly singing hymns to drown out the storm and bolster their own courage. They gathered around him to catch his words. "My friends," he said, "there is a time in every man's life when it is fitting that he should prepare to die. That time has come to us, and unless God interposes, we shall all go to the bottom; I have done all in my power, but this is the worst gale I have ever known since I was a master of a ship." Many shared the captain's fear, but one answered, "Captain Richardson, we were sent to California and we shall get there." Another exclaimed, "Captain, I have no more fear than though we were on solid land." The captain stared in disbelief at such remarks and was heard to say in leaving, "They are either fools and fear nothing, or they know more than I do."⁷

Day after day the ship tossed and rolled. Without upper canvas, there was little to steady the ship against the roll of the waves. All the passengers were seasick. No fires were allowed, and those few who could eat had to subsist on hardtack (sea biscuits) and water. In the words of one passenger: "Women and children were at night lashed to their berths, for in no other way could they keep in. Furniture rolled back and forth endangering limb and life. . . . [The] only light was from two [whale oil] lamps hung outside the hall and these were dim and wavering from the movements of the vessel. Children's voices crying in the darkness, mother's voices soothing or scolding, men's voices rising above the others, all mingled with the distressing groans of the sick for help. . . . And yet even there amid such scenes a few were cheerful and sought to comfort others."⁸ . . .

[When the storm finally was over,] there was much to clean up. Unfortunately,

the two cows had been killed by the pitching and rolling of the ship. . . .

[On board] there were 100 children sharing the hardships. . . . Throughout the voyage they could be found on deck attending school, jumping rope, or playing their many games. Shortly after the storm, another child was added to their number. Sarah Burr gave birth to a son, appropriately named John Atlantic Burr.⁹

With the storm behind them, Sam Brannan appointed E. Ward Pell and Isaac Robbins as his counselors and began organizing activities and enforcing the twenty-one rules and regulations drawn up before departure. At the beating of reveille at 6:00 A.M. all were to rise, dress, wash hands and face, and "comb their heads." Each activity of the day had its appointed hour: passengers were told when to clean, when to eat, when to count the sick, when to be on deck or in the staterooms, and when to enjoy amusements. They were to retire at 9:00 P.M. One activity followed the next, each announced by the clanging, double-beat staccato of the ship's bells. The whole company was divided into watches and took turns as officers of the day. Weekly religious services [were held] on deck, weather permitting. At 11:00 A.M. each Sabbath all were to attend, "shaved, and washed clean. . . ."

Sam Brannan was a frequent speaker. They organized a choir and enjoyed many solos and congregational hymns.¹⁰ . . .

Artwork by Ivan Aivazovsky



Within three weeks the ship entered the northeast trade winds and passed near the Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa. It seemed strange to go nearly to Africa on the way around the Horn, but given the winds and the currents of the Atlantic, this was the quickest route to California, a route already well used by China traders, hide and tallow merchants, and Pacific whalers. . . . They could get past Cape San Roque (the eastern extension of Brazil) without beating against the trades to keep from being driven against the northern shore of South America. This route would cause them to go an extra thousand miles but would shave a couple of weeks off their voyage. Still, this voyage from the eastern to the western shores of North America was regarded as the longest point-to-point voyage in the world, in time as well as in distance.¹¹ . . .

Eventually the *Brooklyn* reached the equator. . . . Near there the *Brooklyn* was caught in the doldrums. If sailors feared anything on the oceans like the storms it was the doldrums, those dead calms . . . produced at the thermal equator. The *Brooklyn* sat for two to three days with limp sails in the muggy, oppressive heat, motionless on a sea. . . . James H. Skinner reported that the air seemed “as if it came out of a furnace. . . . It was so hot that the pitch was drawn out of the ship’s seams.”¹² Finally, the winds stirred into life, picked up the sails, and gently wafted the ship out to the full southeast trades. . . .

Of all the hardships the travelers endured on the voyage, the most difficult to bear were the deaths among the passengers. James H. Skinner recalled as a four-year-old listening to a service aboard ship and watching a shrouded corpse resting on a plank. The plank was raised, he later remembered, just enough to let “the corpse gently slide off, and disappear into the mighty and lonesome ocean, my mother holding me tight in her arms, as if in fear that I, too, might find a watery grave.”¹³ . . . In all, ten passengers and one of the crew died while at sea, and, . . . another infant died at the Sandwich Islands.¹⁴ . . . The passengers died of such diseases as diarrhea, scarlet fever, consumption, cankered sore throat, and dropsy of the stomach.



The *Brooklyn* voyagers approached the Horn—truly the graveyard of the oceans—with considerable apprehension. It was common knowledge that the supreme test of a bold seaman was going west around the Horn. Violent, changeable winds blew there from every quarter, often accompanied by hail and sleet. . . . Waves—sometimes in towering crests, sometimes in long, giant swells—could reach a height seldom seen in other parts of the world. . . . Finally they encountered a south wind that carried them sufficiently west of the Cape. . . . Soon the *Brooklyn* was moving north along the Chilean coast, out of view of land.

After three months on the sea the passengers were growing weary of their fare. Provisions were becoming scarce and stale. The drinking water grew thick and ropy with slime, so that it had to be strained between the teeth, and the taste was dreadful. One pint a day was the allowance to each person to carry to his stateroom. . . . Still worse grew the condition of the ship. . . . Rats abounded in the vessel; cockroaches and smaller vermin infested the provisions, until eternal vigilance was the price imposed upon every mouthful.¹⁵ The passengers were growing desperate to reach Valparaíso—the intended port for fresh provisions. . . .

Unfortunately, the *Brooklyn* never reached Valparaiso. While the ship was trying for that port, another severe gale drove it back against the Cape. . . . One sailor was washed overboard but was able to hang on to a floating board until the crew could rescue him. Laura Goodwin, pregnant and traveling with her husband Isaac and seven children, lost her footing with the pitching of the ship and was thrown down a companionway. She went into premature labor and developed complications. She pled with her grief-stricken family that she not be buried in the sea and, after lingering, finally died.¹⁶ . . .

So the captain abandoned Valparaiso as a destination and set the *Brooklyn* to ride the wind for Juan Fernandez (or Mas-a-tierra), some 360 miles off the coast of Chile. . . . Juan Fernandez, of course, was well known as the island where Robinson Crusoe was marooned [in] Daniel Defoe's fictional classic. . . .

Along with the pleasures of going ashore, however, was the sad task of burying their dear sister, Laura Goodwin. Augusta Joyce Crocheron later wrote: "Although the occasion was so sorrowful, . . . such was our weariness of the voyage that the sight of and tread upon terra firma once more was such a relief from the ship life that we gratefully realized and enjoyed it. The passengers bathed and washed their clothing in the fresh water, gathered fruit and potatoes, caught fish, some eels, great spotted creatures that looked so much like snakes that some members of the company could not eat them when cooked. We rambled about the island, visited the caves, one of which was pointed out to us as the veritable 'Robinson Crusoe's cave.'"¹⁷

The weary voyagers quickly replenished the ship's supplies. They found fresh water only two rods from the beach, poured about 18,000 gallons into casks, and loaded it aboard the ship. They also stowed away bundled firewood from the steep hillsides and salted barrels of fish. . . . After five days the ship was ready to set sail . . . for the Sandwich Islands. . . .

Phoebe Robbins, after burying two sons in the Atlantic, gave birth to a daughter—Georgiana

Pacific Robbins—just a week before they arrived at Oahu.¹⁸ . . .

The *Brooklyn* arrived at Honolulu Harbor on 20 June and anchored outside the reef. . . . They soon found a warm and welcoming atmosphere of Honolulu. Hundreds came to see them land. So friendly were the residents that Kemble called their short stay "the most delightful episode of their long voyage."¹⁹ Sam Brannan . . . accepted an invitation from Rev. Samuel C. Damon to deliver a Sunday sermon at non-denominational Seaman's Bethel near the wharves. This was no doubt the first Mormon sermon preached on the island. On behalf of the *Brooklyn* passengers, Sam Brannan donated \$48.00 for Rev. Damon's ministry.²⁰

The crew unloaded 500 barrels of freight and replenished the ship's supplies, including fresh fruits, vegetables, and meats. At least part of the unloaded cargo was an assorted supply of Bibles for Rev. Damon. . . . Frank Ward appeared before King Kamehameha III to thank him for his generous hospitality.²¹ Some natives came on board the *Brooklyn* and were captivated by the nine-month-old identical twins, Sarah and Hannah Kittleman. They were allowed to take the twins to show Queen Kalama, who then sent back many gifts.²² . . .

Rev. Damon published an extensive article in his biweekly newspaper, *The Friend*, about the history and beliefs . . . of the Church. He included comments from an interview with Captain Richardson: "Of their [the Saints'] general behavior and character, he speaks in the most favorable manner. They have lived in peace together, and uniformly appeared to be quiet and orderly. They are going with full determination of making a settlement."²³ . . .

The *Brooklyn* sailed from Honolulu on 30 June. . . . The travelers later discovered they had picked up unwelcome passengers. Two mutineers being held in the fort near the wharves escaped and stowed away on the *Brooklyn* just before it sailed. The two stowaways, William Taylor and John Stanley, were returned to Honolulu in irons.²⁴ . . .

At this time, Sam Brannan excommunicated four Mormon passengers for doctrinal errors and moral misconduct.²⁵ Many of the Saints felt he

had moved with undue harshness. Even Edward Kemble, a non-Mormon bystander, thought Brannan had overplayed the issue. [Kemble] noted that even though the passengers shared close quarters, there was “rarely an infraction of discipline or decorum among the members of the company, even in the most trying times.” As for moral misconduct, Kemble also noted, “probably no emigrant ship ever crossed the ocean—certainly none ever sailed to California—whose female passengers at the end of a long voyage preserved their reputations as unspotted as those of the *Brooklyn*.”²⁶ Brannan’s action more deeply estranged him from the other passengers.

On the morning of Friday, 31 July 1846, the *Brooklyn* sailed boldly into the mist-shrouded headlands of San Francisco Bay. . . . All passengers were on deck, eagerly straining to see through the clearing fog the details of their new home. Suddenly they sighted an old fort, Castillo de San Joaquin, high on the bluff to the right, and all but the crew were relegated below deck as the *Brooklyn* drew within range of the shorebound guns. What they didn’t know was that the fort was deserted and these guns were antiquated and encrusted beyond use. Anxiously and quietly the ship slipped past the fort. The passengers returned cautiously to the deck as a great inland sea opened

to their view—“the bleak treeless shores . . . the faded verdure of early Autumn . . . the lines of the soldier pelicans winging their measured flight just above the foamy crest of the waves . . . the startled myriads of black fowl . . . the islands . . . the rocky shores of the mainland.”²⁷ . . .

The Saints, from the deck of the *Brooklyn*, studied this quaint little cove where, supposedly, they would soon be unloading. This was Yerba Buena, named for the good herbs (mint) that grew there. At this time the town had about 200 inhabitants and about fifty adobe and frame buildings (houses, saloons, shops, and sheds), scattered with little apparent order since lots were not fenced and the streets were not developed.²⁸ Augusta Joyce Crocheron recounted the scene: “A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barracks, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them.”²⁹ . . .

Officials gave the immigrants permission to disembark and to unload all their possessions free of duty. They began . . . setting up accommodations on shore for their first night in their new



HONOLULU HARBOR

land. A few families found vacant homes. Sixteen families stayed in the barracks or customs house, which they separated into apartments using quilt partitions. Others pitched white tents around the village square in military fashion, lit campfires, and set up outdoor cooking facilities. . . . Yerba Buena (soon to be renamed San Francisco) was now essentially a Mormon town. . . .

The voyage of the *Brooklyn* was an event of historical significance and provides an engaging tale of human experience. It occurred because of the conflicts between early Mormons and their neighbors in the East. Yet, interestingly the voyage itself . . . was marked by an unusual flow of kindness and good will from others. It involved only a few people but was an important part of . . . the history of the West. ■

A longer version of the article appeared in Dialogue (Autumn 1988): 46–72. See also “Every Book . . . Has Been Read Through”: The Brooklyn Saints and the Harper Family Library,” BYU Studies 43, no. 4 (2004): 39–56.

1 *Brooklyn* Passenger Manifest.

2 John M. Horner, “Voyage of the Ship *Brooklyn*,” *Improvement Era* 9 (1906): 796.

3 *Times and Seasons*, Feb. 15, 1846.

4 When John Quincy Adams was asked for an appropriate list of books for a library, the HFL was second on his list, following the Holy Bible (cited in Eugene Exman, *The Brothers Harper* [New York: Harper & Row, 1965], 120). The Harper books were compact (about 6¼ in. by 4 in.) and inexpensive (about 45 cents per volume, half a day’s pay for manual labor). (Robert S. Freeman, “Harper & Brothers’ Family and School District Libraries, 1830–1846,” in *Libraries to the People: Histories of Outreach*, ed. Robert S. Freeman and David M. Hovde [Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2003], 26–49.)

5 Beyond the formal school system, whether for self-education, entertainment, or just making good use of long winter evenings, people, including the passengers of the *Brooklyn*, were becoming readers. Knowledge was to be achieved by self-education. . . . (Lee Soltow and Edward Stevens, *The Rise of Literacy and the Common School in the United States: A Socioeconomic Analysis to 1870* [Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981], 155. See also William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity*

of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780–1835 [Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1989].)

6 James H. Skinner, “History of James H. Skinner,” typescript, p. 2, 1915, Lee Library, BYU, Provo, UT.

7 Augusta Joyce Crocheron, “Augusta Joyce Crocheron,” in *Representative Women of Deseret* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham & Co., 1884), 81.

8 Crocheron, “Crocheron,” 81.

9 Kate B. Carter, comp., “The Ship *Brooklyn* Saints,” in *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1960), 3:521.

10 Edward C. Kemble, “Twenty Years Ago: The ‘*Brooklyn* Mormons’ in California,” in *A Kemble Reader*, ed. Fred B. Rogers (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1963), 20, 26. First appeared in *Sacramento Daily Union*, Sept. 11, 1866.

11 Matthew F. Maury, *Explanations and Sailing Directions to Accompany the Wind and Current Charts*, 7th ed. (Philadelphia: E. C. & J. Biddle, 1855); Boyle T. Somerville, comp., *Ocean Passages for the World* (London: Hydrographic Dept., Admiralty, 1923).

12 Skinner, “History of James H. Skinner,” 3–4.

13 Skinner, “History of James H. Skinner,” 1.

14 *Friend*, July 1 and 15, 1846; *Polynesian*, June 27, 1846.

15 Crocheron, “Crocheron,” 82.

16 Crocheron, “Crocheron,” 81.

17 Crocheron, “Crocheron,” 82.

18 Carter, comp., “The Ship *Brooklyn* Saints,” 3:572.

19 Kemble, “The ‘*Brooklyn* Mormons,’” 22, 23.

20 *Polynesian*, June 27, 1846; *Friend*, July 1, 1846.

21 *Polynesian*, June 27, 1846.

22 Carter, comp., “The Ship *Brooklyn* Saints,” 3:561.

23 *Friend*, July 1, 1846.

24 *Friend*, June 15, 1846; *Polynesian*, July 4 and 11, 1846; *Log of Portsmouth*, Aug. 1, 1846.

25 *Millennial Star*, Oct. 15, 1847.

26 Kemble, “The ‘*Brooklyn* Mormons,’” 17.

27 Kemble, “The ‘*Brooklyn* Mormons,’” 7–8.

28 John Henry Brown, *Yerba Buena*, 1846 (San Francisco: Prepared for the American Library Association by Gelber, Lilienthal, and the Grabhorn Press, 1939); Frank Soule, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855), 173.

29 Crocheron, “Crocheron,” 83.

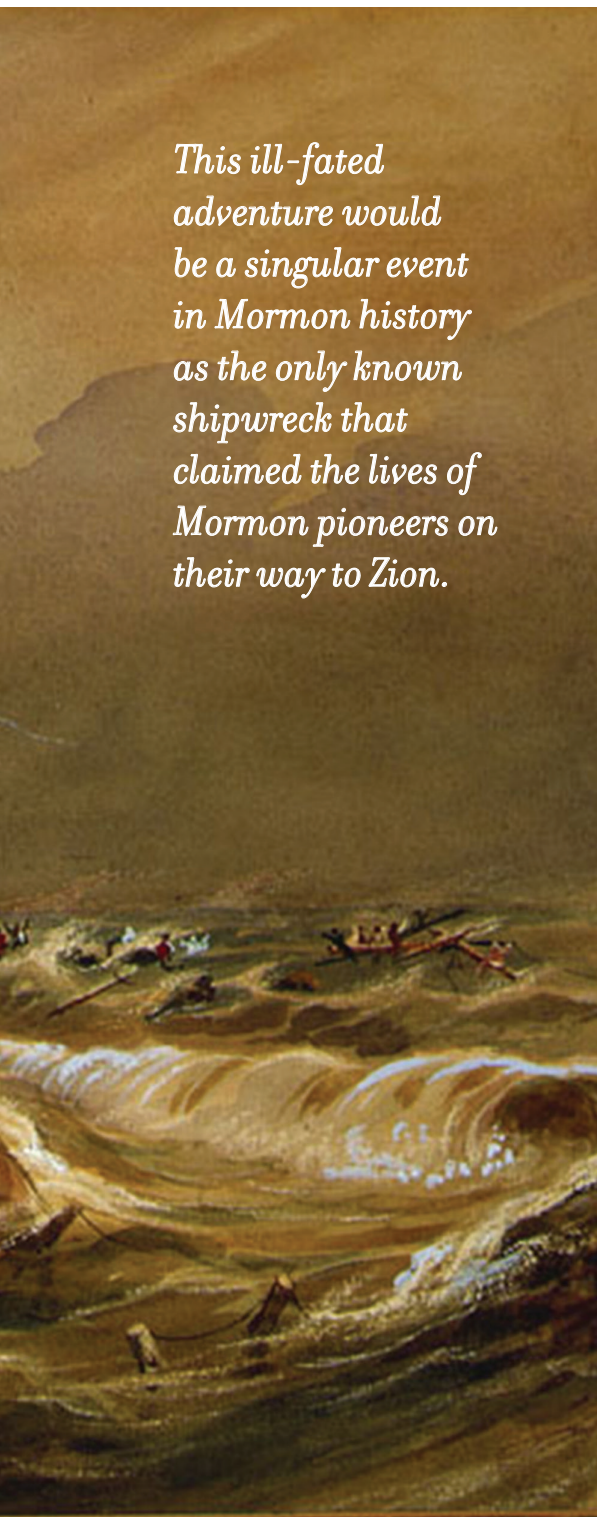
The Wreck and the Rescue of *the* *Julia Ann*



Artwork by Captain Pond's sister, Edith Pond, and owned by her niece Meg Rasmussen.

BY FRED E. WOODS

*This ill-fated
adventure would
be a singular event
in Mormon history
as the only known
shipwreck that
claimed the lives of
Mormon pioneers on
their way to Zion.*



"The bell at the wheel, with every surge of the sea, still tolled a knell to the departed, and naught else but the wailings of a bereaved mother broke the stillness of the night." (Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque "Julia Ann" by Captain Benjamin F. Pond)

Friday 7th September 1855 The *Julia Ann* sailed to day for San Francisco," wrote local Latter-day Saint John Perkins in his diary.¹ At the time of the ship's departure from Australia, twenty-eight Latter-day Saints were on board, three of whom were missionaries and three others who were crew members. Eleven other passengers and fourteen more crew members completed a total of fifty-six.² Mission president Augustus Farnham had appointed Elder John Penfold Sr. to be in charge of the company.³ The Saints were singing "The Gallant Ship Is under Weigh," a hymn written by the famous LDS poet and hymn writer W. W. Phelps (see back cover for the hymn).⁴

Captain Benjamin F. Pond recalled, "The first two weeks at sea were altogether exceedingly unpleasant; head winds, accompanied with much rain. We however entered the south-east trades, and everything again brightened, promising a speedy and pleasant voyage."⁵

The following passenger accounts depict the unexpected and horrifying outcome of this "pleasant voyage." Church member John McCarthy recalled: "The 4th of October . . . about 8 o'clock p.m. . . . the sea became broken, and in about an half an hour the vessel, with a tremendous crash, dashed head on to a coral reef. She immediately swung round with her broadside to the reef, and the sea made a complete breach over her at every swell."⁶

Andrew Anderson, the second missionary to Australia in the early 1840s and a *Julia Ann* passenger, recounted, "About half-past eight o'clock she struck on a reef. . . . Word came out from some one for the passengers to go to the cabin, and by the time I got the four children out of bed, the water was knocking about the boxes, I got my leg very much bruised with a large box, with difficulty we gained the cabin, and about ten minutes after we left, house, gally, and box was all over board, preparations were made to go on the rocks to ascertain whether we could get any footing, as there was no land in sight, the ship was breaking up fast."⁷

In her report to the *San Francisco Daily Herald*, actress Esther Spangenberg, a passenger aboard the *Julia Ann*, said the man who

was at the helm at the time of the wreck was Mr. Coffin, who was said to have a rather ominous name. She added, "The night was dark, neither moon or stars visible, when suddenly the chief officer called out to the man at the wheel, 'Hard down your helm,' and in an instant after the ship struck on a reef, from which she rebounded, and afterwards we could hear her bottom grate harshly on the rocks. The Captain . . . rushed on deck, but before he could reach it the ship was completely fast on the reef."

Spangenberg further described the great confusion that immediately followed: "The steerage passengers rushed into the cabin—mothers holding their undressed children in their arms, as they snatched them from their slumbers, screaming and lamenting, when their fears were in some measure allayed by a sailor who came to the cabin for a light and told them that, although the ship would be lost, their lives would be saved, as we were close to the reef."

She also noted, "The scene that presented itself to my view, shall never be erased from my memory. Mothers screaming, and children clinging to them in terror and in dread; the furniture was torn from its lashings and all upturned; the ship was lying on her beam ends; the starboard side of her was opening, and the waves was washing in and out of her cabin."⁸

At this time of great urgency, Captain Pond "called for a volunteer to attempt to reach the reef by swimming with a small line. One of the sailors instantly stripped; the log line was attached to his body, and he succeeded in swimming to the reef.

. . . By this means a larger line was
hailed to the reef,
and made



fast to the rocks." Further, "I commenced the perilous task of placing the women and children upon the reef. A sailor in a sling upon the rope, took a woman or a child in his arms, and was hauled to the reef by those already there. . . . The process was an exceedingly arduous one, and attended with much peril."⁹

A young seventeen-year-old LDS mother, Rosa Clara Logie, would be the first brave woman to volunteer to be transported to the reef, tying her one-year-old baby daughter, Annie Augusta, on the back of her husband, Charles, before she departed.¹⁰

Another passenger on the *Julia Ann* described the ordeal: "The passengers and crue had to make the best of the way through the foming surf to the coral reef, And when it caim to my lot to test my strenth in brackers, I had to incounter broeken masts and spares in all directions, but through the aid of divine



providence I reach'd the reef safe, while its corals shot fourth poison in all directions from their rugit speers."¹¹

Captain Pond witnessed a mother desperately crying out for her teenage daughter amidst frantic terror: "There was a large family on board named 'Anderson' a father, mother, three daughters, two sons and an infant. One daughter, a pretty girl, ten years of age, was washed off the deck shortly after the ship struck, and drowned; another daughter 'Agnes,' sixteen years old, had escaped to the reef, the rest of the family were still on board. The hauling line had parted, the forward part of the ship had broken up, and no hope remained for those who were yet clinging to the quarter deck; but above the roar of the breakers and shrieks of despair, a mother's voice was heard, crying 'Agnes, Agnes, come to me.' Agnes was seated on the wreck of the main mast, that had floated upon the reef, but no sooner did she hear that mother's piercing wail, than she sprang to her feet, threw her arms up, shrieking 'mother! mother! I come, I come,' and plunged head-long into the sea. A sailor was fortunately near, seized her by the clothes and drew her back again."¹²


Peter Penfold told of the harrowing experience that claimed a total of five lives: "Sister [Martha] Humphries, and sister [Eliza] Harris and infant, were drowned in the cabin. Little Mary Humphries and Marian Anderson were washed off the poop and drowned. . . . After I had helped to get them all out of the cabin, I came up and found the vessel all broken into fragments, except the cabin, and into that the water was rushing at a furious rate, sweeping out all the partitions."¹³

McCarthy wrote that he had engraved on his memory "mothers nursing their babes in the midst of falling masts and broken spars, while the breakers were rolling twenty feet high over the wreck." He recalled that some of the men clung to the wreckage. "Soon afterwards the vessel broke to pieces, and the part they were on was providentially carried high upon the rocks, and they were landed in safety."¹⁴

The courageous, steady character of Captain Pond, who was both an owner and a master of the vessel, was displayed during this entire ordeal. The *Western Standard* reported, "Capt. Pond's chief desire throughout the whole sad affair, seemed to be to save the lives of the passengers and crew, as the following noble act illustrates: While the crew were engaged in getting the passengers ashore, Mr. Owens, the second mate, was going to carry a bag containing eight thousand dollars belonging to the Captain, ashore. The Captain ordered him to leave the money and carry a girl ashore; . . . the child was saved, but the money lost."¹⁵

Captain Pond described in vivid detail their predicament when they finally reached the coral reef: "It was about eleven o'clock at night when all were landed; we were up to our waists in water, and the tide rising. Seated upon the spars and broken pieces of the wreck, we patiently awaited the momentous future. Wrapped in a wet blanket picked up among the floating spars, I seated myself in the boat, the water reaching to my waist; my legs and arms were badly cut and bruised by the coral. Though death threatened ere morning's dawn, exhausted nature could bear up no longer, and I slept soundly. 'Twas near morning when I awoke. The moon was up and shed her faint light over the dismal scene; the sullen roar of the breakers sent an additional chill through my already benumbed frame. The bell at the wheel, with every surge of the sea, still tolled a knell to the departed, and naught else but the

Artwork by Ivan Aivazovsky



wailings of a bereaved mother broke the stillness of the night.”¹⁶

When sunlight broke in the dawn, land was discovered about ten miles away. A rowboat was patched up, and spars and drift wood were assembled to make a raft. The women and children were placed in the boat, led by Captain Coffin, while the men were forced to remain on the reef for a second miserable night. Peter Penfold recalled, “We passed a dreadful night, sitting on some of the broken masts, up to the waist in water. At daylight we were all busily engaged picking up such provisions as could be found.”¹⁷ The second morning, rafts were prepared for provisions as well as clothing, and the men slowly swam and waded beside them along the reef. The water was up to the men’s necks, and the shorter ones had to hold on to the rafts. What appears to be especially terrorizing were the schools of sharks that pursued them in their desperate condition. Finally, in a state of complete exhaustion, having had no drink or food for two full days, they reached the island, and were soon greeted by children who quickly escorted them to drinking water, which had come from holes dug beneath the coral sand.

Three days later, Pond led an exploring party to look for more provisions to sustain the castaways. On another island, some eight miles from their main camp, he found a coconut grove. Turtles were also found to lay eggs on the island at night. Pond noted, “Our hearts dilated with gratitude, for without something of this kind our case would have been indeed desperate. Our living now consisted of shell fish, turtle, sharks and cocoa nuts. We also prepared a garden, and planted some pumpkins, peas and beans.”¹⁸

McCarthy noted that “while on the uninhabited islands we held our regular meetings, dividing the time between worship and labor as we have

done had we been at our ordinary occupations.”¹⁹ With an established routine and provisions now stabilized, the next step for deliverance was to repair the quarter boat. The crew used great ingenuity in pulling strewn materials together in order to construct both a forge and a bellows so that nails could be made and iron work produced.

The survivors were also divided into family units, wherein each group built thatched huts and used leaves from the pandanus tree. Five weeks later, the boat was ready for launching. The craft was not very sturdy, but there was no alternative; it was either make an effort to escape or remain trapped on the desolate reef. The Society Islands were the nearest inhabited land, a little over 200 miles windward. Therefore, Pond decided to go leeward (with the wind, instead of against it) in hopes of reaching the Navigator Islands (Samoa), though their distance was about 1,500 miles away.

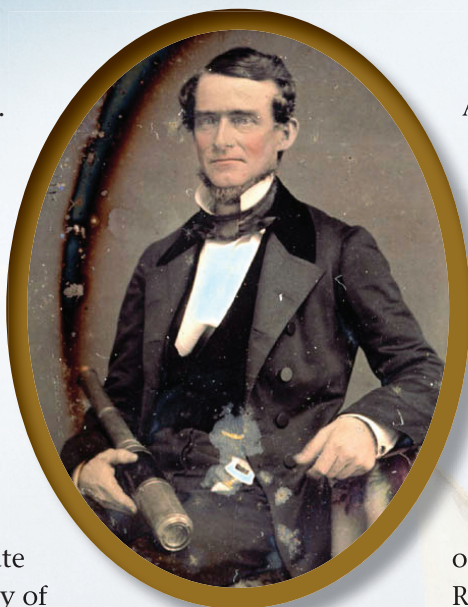
However, soon thereafter, devastation set in; the weather changed and a tornado swept the quarter boat away. Fortunately, the craft was eventually recovered and was not injured. After eight weeks of being stranded on the Scilly Islands, the weather suddenly changed its course and blew windward (towards the northwest), which Pond recognized as “Divine Providence in our favor.”²⁰

The craft was launched with a crew of ten brave men, who would need to row continuously for several days, both day and night.²¹ Spangenberg recalled that as the small craft was about to embark on its vital mission, “We invoked God’s blessing on the captain and the nine brave men who accompanied him, who boldly risked their lives in an open, crazy boat, to cross an open ocean, to endeavor to bring us succor and relief. As we watched the boat recede from the land . . . there was not one amongst us but was aware that on that boat . . . depended our very existence.”²²

Pond explained that those aboard this untrustworthy craft felt that their days were numbered after rowing several days: “The sea . . . so sluggish, arose in all its might, and power, threatening to

engulph us, in its appalling throes. For hours, and hours, the fearful, but unequal contest, was maintained, 'till human endurance could bear up no longer, and we lay exhausted in the bottom of our little boat, now floating at the mercy of the sea. . . . Thoughts of home mingled in our prayers. . . . Thus, for hours we were driven at the mercy of the raging wind and sea, but not forgotten by a kind Providence. Late in the afternoon . . . the sudden cry of "land! land!" again startled us from the lethargy of despair which seemed, with its cold, icy hand, to gripe our very hearts. . . . Tears of gratitude filled our eyes. . . . We pulled along outside of the reef about two hours, looking in vain for an entrance, . . . when a native who was engaged spearing fish inside, guessing our difficulty, motioned to us to proceed further up the reef, on complying with which we soon found a ship entrance to a fine harbor, and saw the huts of a native village at the head of the bay."²³

Pond later suggested that a Mormon elder's prophetic dreams was also a significant factor in determining which direction the small crew would travel towards safety: "My passengers were mostly Mormons; . . . One of their Elders had a dream or vision."²⁴ He saw the boat successfully launched upon her long voyage, and for a day or two making satisfactory progress. Another leaf in the vision, and the boat is seen floating bottom up, and the drowned bodies of her crew floating around her. . . . After some days the same Mormon Elder came to me having had another vision. . . . He saw the boat depart with a crew of ten men, bound to the eastward; after three days of rowing, they reached a friendly island where a vessel was obtained and all hands safely brought to Tahiti. . . . You have heard the account of how literally his dream was fulfilled against every probability."²⁵



Captain
Benjamin F. Pond

After finally reaching Bora Bora in late November, Pond records that he and his nine-man crew "could not walk for some time after being removed from our boat by the natives."²⁶ Pond went for help and eventually found it with the help of the British Consulate, who recommended Captain Latham, docked with the schooner *Emma Packer*.²⁷

On December 3, the castaways on Scilly Island were rescued.²⁸ Recalling this joyful, redemptive event, John S. Eldredge expressed his profound gratitude: "We were delivered from our exiled and

desolate situation by the untiring perserverance of Captain B. F. Pond, master of the barque *Julia Ann*, connected with the charitable good feeling of Captain Latham, master of the schooner *Emma Packer*, that came to our relief. We were taken off the Scilly Isles, where we were wrecked, on the 3d of December, making it two months that we were left in this lonely situation on an uninhabited island. I need not attempt to describe our feelings




Seascape by Guillermo Gómez Gil

"Father and mother and we all are in good health and spirits, though we have lost all our worldly goods, and all that we had; yet we have faith in God, and trust He will deliver us soon from this place. Do not forget to come along the first opportunity; though we were shipwrecked, that is no reason you should be. I hope to see you all before long in the land of the free, surrounded by the saints of the Most High God."

—Peter Penfold, writing to his son from Tahiti

of gratitude and praise which we felt to give the God of Israel for His goodness and mercy in thus working a deliverance for us."²⁹

Did the Mormon converts aboard the ill-fated *Julia Ann* voyage regret the trip when tragedy arose and five lives were lost? Perhaps this question can be answered best by the additional witness of two of the passengers, one who barely survived and the other who lost her life. Their letters exemplify the faith and fortitude so common among Saints who attempted the sail and trail journey to follow what they perceived as inspired counsel to gather to Zion. Writing to his son from Tahiti, Peter Penfold, noted, "Father and mother and we all are in good health and spirits, though we have lost all our worldly goods, and all that we had; yet we have faith in God, and trust He will deliver us soon from this place. Do not forget to come along the first opportunity; though we were shipwrecked, that is no reason you should be. I hope to see you all before long in the land of the free, surrounded by the saints of the Most High God."³⁰

The other letter was penned by Martha Humphries before she departed Australia aboard the *Julia Ann* and her subsequent drowning: "And now my dear mother, I will answer that question you put me, of when, are we are going. . . . We leave Australia, with all its woes, and bitterness, for the Land of Zion next April. . . . Perhaps you will say, I am building on worldly hopes, that never will be realized, not So, Mother, . . . knowing what I know, I tell you, if I knew for a positive certainty, that when we get there, persecutions, such as have been the portion of the Saints before, awaited us, I would Still insist upon going, what are a few Short years in this present state, compared with Life Eternal. . . . I tell you, Mormonism is truth, and the only truth."³¹ 

This article is a condensed version of Chapter 4: "The Wreck of the Julia Ann and Survival Tactics" from Fred E. Woods, Divine Providence: The Wreck and Rescue of the Julia Ann (Springville: Cedar Fort, 2014), 39–62.

1 Diary of John Perkins, Sept. 3–7, 1855.

2 See also the list of Mormon passengers aboard the *Julia Ann*, Marjorie Newton, *Southern Cross Saints: The Mormons in Australia* (Laie: Institute of Polynesian Studies, BYU—Hawaii, 1991), 224. For known *Julia Ann* first-person voyage accounts, see <http://mormonmigration.lib.byu.edu>.

3 Andrew Jenson, "The *Julia Ann* Wreck," *Deseret Weekly News*, May 14, 1898, 697.

4 "The Gallant Ship Is Under Weigh" was written on the tenth anniversary of the Church, April 6, 1840, by W.W. Phelps (Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church* 4:103; hereafter cited as *History of the Church*.)

John McCarthy, was one of only two Mormons who were part of the ten-man crew who rowed to Bora Bora. The other was Charles Logie. The fact that Pond referred to an "Elder,"—McCarthy had just been serving as a missionary in Australia before departure, and Logie, though a Church member, was actually already part of the regular crew, but was not then called an elder—it is probable that McCarthy had the dream or vision. In light of the winds complying on this life or death voyage, it is of interest that McCarthy was told in his patriarchal blessing under the hands of Isaac Morley, October 26, 1856: "The winds and waves will be obedient through Thy prayers of faith." (See "Copy of Patriarchal Blessing give to John McCarthy," in "History of John McCarthy.") . . .

McCarthy went with two of the crew to the island of Maupiti, "where they met King Tapoa and obtained two small schooners, with which to return to the Island of Scilly and rescue their marooned companions. They found they were just 12 hours late in making the rescue, as Captain Pond, in the meantime had been successful in chartering a vessel, the 'Emma Packer,' at Huahine." However, McCarthy made the best of the situation and returned to Maupiti, where he preached to King Tapoa, baptized the King's interpreter, Captain Delano, and found good favor among the natives. After a three-week period he then went to the island of Raiatea, where he stayed for two weeks and also performed baptisms, as well as ordaining a man named Shaw to the office of elder. (See "History of John McCarthy.")

5 Captain Benjamin F. Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque "Julia Ann"* (New York: Francis & Loutrel, 1858), 14.

6 John McCarthy to George Q. Cannon, first published April 25, 1856, in the *Western Standard*, an LDS periodical in San Francisco, with Cannon as editor. Republished in *Deseret News [Weekly]*, July 2, 1856, 130. Andrew Jenson, "The *Julia Ann* Wreck," 698, notes, "The Scilly Islands consist of a number of very low islets or motus . . . about 185 miles west of Raiatea and 300 miles west northwest of Tahiti. Besides the circular reef composing the island a hidden reef extends westward for many miles. It was on this reef that the *Julia Ann* was wrecked."

7 Andrew Anderson to Augustus Farnham, recorded in the Diary of Augustus Farnham, copies in LDS Church Library Archives, Salt Lake City; hereafter cited as CHL; also published in *Zion's Watchman* 2, no. 5 (May 24, 1856), 76.

8 Esther Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck of the Bark *Julia Ann*," *San Francisco Daily Herald*, Mar. 11, 1856, 2. This is Captain Pond's first officer, Peter M. Coffin.

9 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 15.

10 McCarthy to Cannon, April 25, 1856, 130.

11 "The Wreck of the Bark *Julia Ann*," Jan. 28, 1856, letter to the editors by a passenger on the *Julia Ann*, *San Francisco Daily Herald*, April 16, 1856, 1.

12 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 28.

13 Peter Penfold to Charles Penfold, *Zion's Watchman* 2, no. 5 (May 24, 1856), 77–78. Just before she drowned, Martha Humphries asked her fellow Saints to "protect her children and convey them safely to Great Salt Lake City, for her earthly career was run." (See John McCarthy, "History of John McCarthy," comp. Stella B. Nielson, CHL, 11.)

14 McCarthy to Cannon, April 25, 1856, 130.

15 *Western Standard*, Mar. 15, 1856, 2. Esther Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," in Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 9, echoed these same sentiments of both Captain Pond as well as his crew: "Next to God, our thanks are due to Captain Pond, his officers and crew, for their noble exertions in our behalf. They fearlessly risked their lives in endeavoring to do all in their power to save the passengers."

16 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 18.

17 Peter Penfold to Charles Penfold, *Zion's Watchman*, 78.

18 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 18–19.

19 McCarthy to Cannon, April 25, 1856, 130.

20 B. F. Pond, "Autobiography of B. F. Pond, written at the request of his Wife and Children" (Tenafly, New Jersey, June 15, 1895), typescript, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 215, 218. The theme of "divine

providence" or "providence," seems to play a key role in Pond's "Autobiography" and is attested several times, 34, 57, 136, 249.

21 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 20–24.

22 Esther Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," in Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 11.

23 Pond, *Narrative of the Wreck*, 31–32.

24 This elder is thought to be Elder John McCarthy.

25 Autobiography of B. F. Pond, 221–22.

26 Pocket Memorandum of B. F. Pond, "Papers of B. F. Pond," original in possession of Pond's great grand-daughter Meg Rasmussen.

27 It appears that Pond went directly to Captain Latham of the *Emma Packer*, as this vessel was recommended to him by the British Consulate at Raiatea. (See letter of Alex Chisholm, British Consul on Raiatea, to Captain Pond, "Papers of Captain B. F. Pond," Nov. 23, 1855.) The survivors waited nearly another two weeks for their deliverance.

28 Shortly after the survivors of the *Julia Ann* were rescued, the wreckage of the vessel was apparently spotted; the log book of the schooner *Rob Roy*, whose master was Captain Ruxton, for Dec. 21, 1855, notes: "Run down on Scilly Islands, find it very low and uninhabited. . . . S. W. side Noon observed the wreck of a vessel on the reef." (See log book of the *Rob Roy* [Captain Ruxton], Paul Hundley private papers in possession of author.)

29 Letter of John S. Eldredge in *Deseret News [Weekly]* 6, no. 17 (July 2, 1856), 130. News of the wreck was also published in other major newspapers both in Australia as well as in America. See for example, "Total loss of the American Barque *Julia Ann*," *Sydney Morning Herald* (April 2, 1856), 6; "Letter Addressed by Captain Pond to the United States Consul at Tahiti," *New York Herald* (Mar. 17, 1856), 2. . . . Captain H. Eldredge, master of the ship *Oregon*, in a letter from Huahine dated November 29, 1855, wrote to Captain Pond offering the assistance of his ship in the rescue of the passengers. In a note that Pond wrote referencing the letter from Eldredge, Pond stated that the *Oregon* arrived at the Scilly Islands shortly after the *Emma Packer* and rescued three people: "The 'Oregon' reached Scilly reefs . . . [and] was fortunate in rescuing 2 Mates and one passenger of the Bark 'Julia Ann' who were found on an outlying reef abandoned by their boat and would undoubtedly have perished had not the ship 'Oregon' providentially put in an appearance. B.F.P." (See Captain H. Eldredge to Captain B. F. Pond, Nov. 29, 1855, in possession of Meg Rasmussen.)

30 Peter Penfold, *Zion's Watchman* 2, 78.

31 Martha Humphries to her mother, Dec. 8, 1853, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.

Artwork by Ivan Aivazovsky



Emigrant Ships

PASSAGE RATES & RATIONS

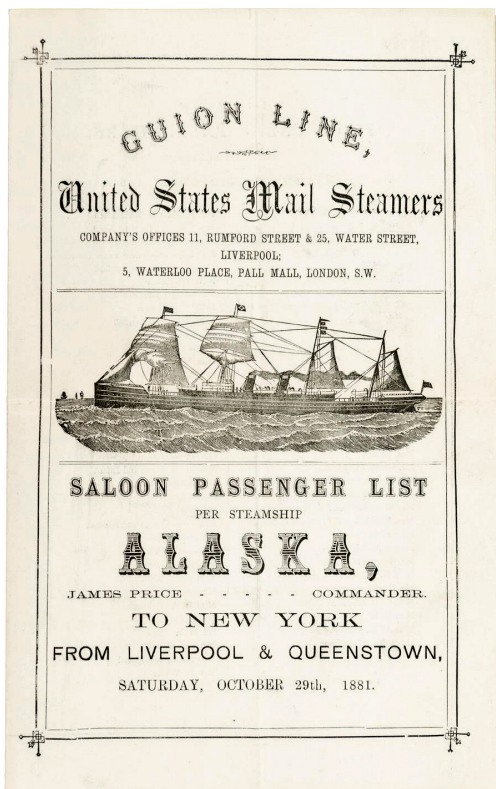
1847-1894



When ships would go full to the United States ports, they could carry only 2 souls for every 5 tons of the ships register burden; therefore children if numerous were a heavy drawback (as children went for half price).

Cost of fare for passenger ships could vary pretty wildly. There were “price wars” even in the mid- to late-1800s. Around 1870, 1st and 2nd cabin prices from Liverpool to New York could range from 15 to 20+ guineas [one guinea = £1.01 shilling], steerage about £5.00. Steerage dropped to about £2.00 in the mid-1880s.

Hamburg to New York in the late 1870s was “First cabin” \$100.00 gold and “Second cabin” \$60.00 gold via Hamburg–American Packet Company. At the same time, Liverpool, London, or Queenstown to New York were 10, 12, and 15 guineas, according to accommodation, via National Line.



A FEEDER SHIP

was a small steamship that carried emigrants from small ports or minor emigration ports, to the larger emigration ports such as Liverpool, Hamburg, Rotterdam, or Havre. They usually operated on a regular schedule with at least two trips a month.



“THE COMPANIES

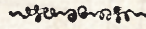
AROSE at an early hour, made their beds, cleaned their assigned portions of the ship, and threw the refuse overboard. At seven they assembled for prayer, after which breakfast was had. All were required to be in their berths ready for retirement at eight o'clock. Church services were held morning and evening of each day, weather permitting. Many of the companies had excellent choirs which sang for the services. During the time of passage which occupied something like a month, concerts, dance contests, and entertainments of various types were held. Schools were held almost daily for both adults and children. The classes were particularly popular with Scandinavians who learned English en route.” See Leonard Arrington, *The Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press., 1958), 103.



The following quotes are from the New York Times of Aug. 6, 1889, in the advertisements for various shipping lines.

Hamburg–American Packet Company Express Service on the mail steamer *Hammonia* and the *Express S/S Augusta Victoria*, with Regular Service on the *Rugia* and the *Bohemia*: First Cabin \$50.00 and upward; steerage at lower rates. White Star Line for Queenstown and Liverpool, ships *Britannic*, *Celtic*, *Teutonic*, *Germanic*, *Adriatic*: Saloon Rates, \$50.00 and upward; Second cabin, \$35.00 and upward; according to steamer and location of berths; steerage \$20.00. Inman Line S.S. and Royal Mail, ships *City of Paris*, *City of Chicago*, *City of New York*, *City of Berlin*: Cabin passage \$60.00 and upward; second cabin, outward, \$85.00 and \$40.00, prepaid; steerage \$20.00. The Short Line to London, Norddeutscher Lloyd Mail S.S. The ships *Aller*, *Elbe*, *Elder*, *Werra*, *Saale*, *Ems*: First cabin \$75.00 and upward per berth, according to location; 2nd cabin \$50.00 an adult; steerage at lowest rates. Cunard Line. Ships *Servia*, *Etruria*, *Aurania*, *Bothnia*, *Umbria*, *Gallia*: Cabin passage \$60.00, \$80.00 and \$100.00; intermediate \$35.00

Rules for Passengers



MEALS & BED-TIME

Every Passenger to rise at 7 a.m. unless otherwise permitted by the SURGEON.

Breakfast from 8 to 9 a.m., Dinner at 1 p.m.,
Supper at 6 p.m.

The Passengers to be in their beds at 10 p.m.



FIRES & LIGHTS

Fires to be lighted by the Passenger's Cook at 7 a.m. & kept alight by him till 7 p.m. then to be extinguished, unless otherwise directed by the MASTER, or required for the use of the sick.

Three Safety Lamps to be lit at dusk; one to be kept burning all night in the main hatchway, the two others may be extinguished at 10 p.m.

No naked lights allowed at any time,
or on any account.



CLEANING BERTHS ETC.

The Passengers, when dressed to roll up their beds, to sweep the decks (including the space under the bottom of the berths), & to throw the dirt overboard.

Breakfast not to commence till this is done.
The sweepers for the day to be taken in rotation from the males above 14, in the proportion of five for every one hundred passengers.

Duties of the sweepers to be to clean the Ladders, Hospital & Dining Rooms, to sweep after every meal, & to dryholystone ["soft stone used for scrubbing decks of ships for Sunday cleaning," *Webster*] and scrape them after breakfast.

But the occupant of each berth to see his own berth is well brushed out; and single women are to keep their own compartment clean.

The beds to be well shaken and aired on deck.

Mondays and Tuesdays are appointed as washing days, but no clothes are to be washed or dried between decks.

The Coppers & Cooking Vessels to be cleaned every day.

VENTILATION

The Scuttles & Stern Ports to be kept open (weather permitting) from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. and the Hatches at all times [actually numbered 19].

On Sunday the Passengers to muster at 10 a.m. when they will be expected to appear in clean and decent apparel. The day to be observed as religiously as circumstances will admit.
[Mormon passengers held regular Sunday services.]



MISCELLANEOUS

No Spirits or Gunpowder to be brought on board by any passenger. Any that may be discovered will be taken into custody of the Master till the expiration of the voyage.

No loose hay or straw allowed below.
All gambling, fighting, riotous behaviour or quarrelsome behaviour, swearing, & violent language to be at once put a stop to.

Swords and other offensive weapons, as soon as the passengers embark, to be placed in the custody of the Master.

No sailors to remain on the passenger deck among the passengers except on duty.

No passenger to go to the Ship's Cookhouse without special permission from the Master, nor to remain in the forecabin among the sailors on any account.



BY ORDER OF THE MASTER

(Based upon an abstract of the QUEEN'S ORDER in COUNCIL, of the 6th. October, 1849, for preserving order and securing Cleanliness and Ventilation on board of "Passenger Ships" proceeding from the UNITED KINGDOM to any of HER MAJESTY'S Possessions abroad.)



Improvements in Transportation

Progress in transportation technology had a tremendous impact on the gathering. During the years the Saints crossed the Atlantic on sailing vessels (1840–1867), the average time for a voyage from Liverpool to New York was about **FIVE WEEKS**. The earlier route to New Orleans lasted more than two weeks longer. With the advent of steamships, the Saints could make the journey from Liverpool to New York in about **ELEVEN DAYS**.

Nearly
45% of the
roughly
90,000 EUROPEAN MORMONS
immigrated to the US
during the nineteenth
century via
STEAMSHIPS on the
Guion Line.

Between 1870 and 1894, over 40,000 Latter-day Saints from Britain, Scandinavia, and elsewhere in western Europe crossed the Atlantic Ocean on a dozen steam vessels owned and operated by the Guion Line, a British shipping company (Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas* [1983], 117, 173).

Steam power had the same impact on land. With the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad (May 10, 1869), travelers could cross the United States from coast to coast in less than ten days. This was in stark contrast to traveling ten to twelve weeks just from the Missouri River to the Great Basin during the

wagon train years. For the complete story of the migration, one must include the sail and rail, as well as the trail.

(See Fred E. Woods, "Improvements in Technology," in "Gathering to Zion," 57–58; see also Fred E. Woods, "George Ramsden, the Guion Line, and the Mormon Immigration Connection," in *Mormon Studies* 2, no. 2 [2009]: 83–97.)

The *SS Wyoming*
carried nearly
10,500 EMIGRANTS
to the US on
38 SEPARATE
Liverpool–New York
voyages between
1871 and 1890.

To William G. Smith
From: Thomas Elliot
Liverpool February 6th 1847.

Mr Smith

Sir,

Passages to America this spring will be higher than former years in consequence of the extreme rates of Bread stuffs. The law regulating all passenger vessels requires there should be 70lb bread on board for each adult passenger, to meet the issue of 1lb per day to each, and half quantity to children. The rate of passage to Quebec cannot be correctly stated at present, but is expected to be about 55/- per adult, and half price for children. Where there is better chance for 5/- for each grown person, and half that sum for each child paid out of their passage money at Quebec to the Government Emigration Society, by which a considerable sum is created each year, to assist those in need in proceeding to their several destinations, and enabling them to make settlements in Localities where most likely to find employment.

Yours respectfully

Thomas Elliot

MONUMENTS & MARKERS

The Emigrants, Albert Dock, Liverpool

Location: beside the River Mersey and the entrance to the Canning Half Tide Dock, near Hartley Quay, Liverpool.

Inscription reads: This statue of a young family commemorates migration from Liverpool to the new world.

It was given to the people of Liverpool by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon church) as a tribute to the many families from all over Europe who embarked on a brave and pioneering voyage from Liverpool to start a new life in America.

It is estimated that in total approximately nine million people emigrated through the port.

The sculpture is cast in bronze. The child stepping forward at the front symbolises migration to the unknown world, whilst the child playing with a crab at the back indicates a deep association with the sea. ▽



Sculpture by Mark DeGraffenried, 2001.



"Mormon Emigrant Family," Rebild Park, Juland, Denmark

Created by Utah artist Dennis Smith: "The sculpture comes out of my own experience and knowledge. The little brother is the 4-month-old baby who died just days before the family reached New York. . . .

"Lots of babies died coming over. My great-grandmother remembered seeing this baby, her little brother, slide off the side of the ship into the water." (See "Sculptor returns to roots for inspiration:



Utahn creates 2 sculptures of LDS emigrants for Denmark," *Deseret News*, May 10, 2000.) The statue is a representation of the Beck family who were part of the Mormon emigration, consisting of approximately 18,000 Danes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The image depicted is typical of countless other emigrants—mother, father and children are standing with their eyes directed to their new home, filled with hope and great expectations for what lies ahead.

"One final figure of an old woman . . . is looking backward rather than ahead. Her gaze is directed toward the past—her husband and homeland left behind. . . . She would be the link between the past and the future, the carrier of heritage." ▽ (See Dennis Smith, "Kristina Comes Home," *Mormon Historical Studies*, 101–10.



Gathering to Zion During **The American Civil War**

BY FRED E. WOODS

"Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation [the United States] that has driven you out; and now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great unless they speedily repent, yea very speedily. For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them and they have shed innocent blood which crieth from the ground against them." (D&C 136:34–36)

Many of Brigham's fellow Mormons had strong convictions that the Civil War was a fulfillment of this prophecy, convictions shared by LDS converts abroad. A *Millennial Star* headline printed in May 1861 read, "Civil War in America—Its Importance as a Warning to the



Saints.” After recounting the war’s commencement, the attached article pointed to the events at Fort Sumter as the fulfillment of Joseph Smith’s prophecy nearly three decades earlier that a war beginning in South Carolina would be “poured out upon all nations” (D&C 87:2). The article stressed that those gathered in Zion in the American West “shall be the only people that will not be at war” and that those who journeyed Zionward would at last arrive “in the bosom of a vast continent, far removed from the scene of strife, and encompassed by lofty mountains and interminable deserts and plains, the country they inhabit will be but little affected by the battles and dissensions of the outer world.”¹

Such information appears to have motivated more than 11,000 European Saints to cross the Atlantic on thirty-two voyages and then to travel

across the American heartland during the Civil War. Thus, although it seems counterintuitive, Mormon immigration greatly increased during much of the Civil War rather than declining.² Nineteenth-century Saints emigrating from their home nations faced challenges common to most travelers crossing the Atlantic—seasickness, disease, and the threat of angry storms. However, at the time of the Civil War, there was also the additional threat of Confederate warships. But not one immigrant ship carrying Latter-day Saints during the Civil War was ever lost crossing the Atlantic.

In 1864, David Coombs wrote that the captain of the *General McClellan* had sailed out of his course, far north among icebergs, for fear of meeting a Confederate ship at sea.³ Richard Crowther, who voyaged on the same vessel, wrote that after



Battle of the USS Kearsarge and the CSS Alabama 1864 by Durand-Brager

safely crossing the Atlantic in his company of 802 Saints, he received news that the *General McClellan* had been sunk on its return voyage to Liverpool.⁴ It was taken down by the Confederate warship *Alabama*, which would eventually sink a total of sixty-five Yankee ships—more than any other Confederate vessel.⁵ The crew of the *Alabama* may have taken particular notice of a ship bearing the name of a Union general—*George B. McClellan*.

Less than two weeks after the *General McClellan* left England on its 1864 voyage, the ship *Hudson*, with 863 Saints aboard, had a threatening encounter on the Atlantic. A Confederate warship pulled alongside the *Hudson* to determine what kind of freight it was transporting. The sailors aboard the warship yelled out, “Say your prayers, you Mormons, you are all going down!” Fortunately, nothing came of the boastful threat.

At least two Mormon passengers aboard the *Hudson* reasoned that they were spared because the passengers were from foreign countries. Charles William Symons recalled: “The Confederate gunboat *Georgia* hailed us and brought us to a standstill, for be it remembered the War of the Rebellion was now in full sway. After inquiries from our captain we were permitted to move on for they ascertained that 1100 British subjects were on board. Consequently they had no means of handling that many persons and the would-be prize was given up, the gunboat’s band playing a farewell.”⁶

This was, then, a very adventurous period for Mormon immigrants, who were threatened first by Confederate warships on the seas and later by Confederate and Union soldiers on land. In fact, while crossing the plains, European converts generally feared soldiers more than Native Americans. And before these converts arrived at the outfitting posts where they would be met by Mormon immigration agents⁷ and the captains of Church wagon trains, they had to cross the eastern United States by steam locomotives and riverboats. Such a journey often proved an arduous task, much different from a wagon ride West with experienced wagon captains to assist them.⁸ This port-to-post segment appears to have been quite a dangerous

ride, one with numerous stops and transfers—and one generally devoid of friendly and knowing guides to point the way and lend support.

From New York the Saints traveled west by rail. While the rail route from New York to Chicago was generally quiet, the railroad route through Missouri generally was not. Certainly it stretched the capacities of federal soldiers charged with preserving the safety of the route and of the property surrounding it. A member of one Mormon immigrant company braving this route in 1862 noted that Missouri “presented a mournful picture. In many places houses were burned down, fences destroyed, and crops unattended. All the bridges were well guarded by Union troops to prevent Secessionists from burning them. The fulfillment of Joseph Smith’s prophecies concerning Missouri can be visibly seen in passing through the State.”⁹

From St. Joseph, Missouri, the Saints boarded a steamboat up the Missouri River to the Nebraska Territory outfitting posts at Florence (1861–63) or Wyoming (1864–66).¹⁰

While Saints who immigrated in 1861 traveled only within the boundaries of the United States, later LDS immigrant companies traveled part of the way west through Canada—at least during the last years of the war. It is important to note that Saints’ usage of the Canadian route had more to do with economics than with wartime safety, given that it was significantly cheaper than the domestic route used earlier.

The Saints gathering to Zion during the years of the Civil War endured the threat of wartime violence from the time they left their homelands. They encountered warships on the seas and the agitation and commotion of troops in the cities once they landed. They withstood cramped and malodorous journeys in cattle cars, endured searches and inspections by troops, and were subjected to the unnerving sound of nearby battles. They experienced delays, crowded conditions, and short supplies. They bore the antagonism and taunts of soldiers and faced the possibility of abduction or conscription. However, despite the danger, apprehension, and inconvenience caused by the war, it did not become a major hindrance to the Saints’

immigration. In fact, the war probably enhanced their sense of urgency to gather to Utah, where they could find security and safety.¹¹ In spite of obstacles created by the conflict, the Saints continued to gather to Utah at a steady pace and under the Lord's watchful eye. ▮

A longer version of this article was published as "East to West through North and South: Mormon Immigration during the Civil War," BYU Studies 39, no. 1 (2000): 6–29.

1 "Civil War in America—Its Importance as a Warning to the Saints," Editorial, *Millennial Star* 23 (May 11, 1861): 297–300.

2 During the years immediately preceding the war (1858–60), only 2,397 LDS immigrants gathered to Zion and only about 2,000 in 1861—after the war commenced. As stated previously, there were about 3,600 in 1862 and 3,646 in 1863. Immigration declined to 2,633 in 1864 and then dropped dramatically to 1,301 in 1865 after the Civil War ended. (See *Church Emigration Book* for the years 1858–65, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City; hereafter cited as CHL.)

3 David Coombs, Journal, 3, in possession of author.

4 Richard Crowther, Autobiography, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 8:57.

5 For battle statistics for the *Alabama*, see Geoffrey C. Ward, Ken Burns, and Ric Burns, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 326.

6 Charles William Symons, Autobiography, in Carley Budd Meredith and Dean Symons Anderson, *The Family of Charles William Symons and Arzella Whitaker Symons* (privately printed, 1986), 6.

7 The immigration agent at Florence was Jacob Gates in 1861, Joseph W. Young in 1862, and Col. Feramor Little in 1863. (William G. Hartley, "Great Florence Fitout, 1861," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 3 [1984]: 343; Anders Perrson Lofgreen, Autobiography, 41, CHL; and *Church Emigration Book*, 1863, CHL.)

8 Not all wagon trains were Church down-and-back trains; some were independent wagon trains that were not as well supplied with provisions for the final leg of the trip to the Salt Lake Valley

9 Journal of Joseph Coulsen Rich, 19, CHL.

10 Stanley B. Kimball, "Sail and Rail Pioneers before 1869," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 23–27. For an account of the 1864 emigration season at Wyoming, see Craig S. Smith, "Wyoming, Nebraska Territory: Joseph W. Young and the Mormon Emigration of 1864," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 30–51.

11 Interestingly, even after arriving in Utah, the Saints were not to escape war altogether. On the very day that Generals Grant and Lee met at the Appomattox Courthouse to put an end to the Civil War, another challenge emerged when hostile, hungry Indians and frustrated Saints who were tired of their cattle being stolen held a lively meeting in Manti, Utah—an event that triggered the Black Hawk War (1865–72).

Artwork by Charles Brooking



THE *Gallant Ship* IS UNDER WEIGH

The gallant ship is under weigh
To bear me off to sea,
And yonder floats the streamer gay
That says she waits for me.
The seamen dip the ready oar,
As rippled waves oft tell,
They bear me swiftly from the shore;
My native land, farewell!
I go, but not to plough the main,
To ease a restless mind,
Nor yet to toil on battle's plain,
The victor's wreath to find.

'Tis not for treasures that are hid
In mountain or in dell,
'Tis not for joys like these I bid
My native land farewell.
I go to break the fowler's snare,
To gather Israel home;
I go the name of Christ to bear
In lands and isles unknown.
And soon my pilgrim feet shall tread
On land where errors dwell,
Whence light and truth have long since fled,
My native land, farewell!

I go, an erring child of dust,
Ten thousand foes among,
Yet on His mighty arm I trust,
Who makes the feeble strong.
My sun, my shield, forever nigh,
He will my fears dispel,
This hope supports me when I sigh,
My native land, farewell!
I go devoted to His cause,
And to His will resigned;
His presence will supply the loss
Of all I leave behind.

"The Galant Ship Is Under Weigh" was written on the tenth anniversary of the Church, April 6, 1840, by W.W. Phelps (HC 4:103).

